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and Literature in relation to Siam, and neighbouring
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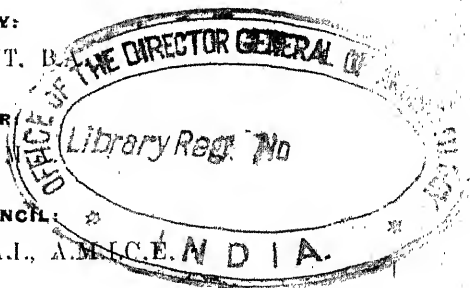
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THE PROXIMATE SOURCE OF THE SIAMESE ALPHABET

BY

CORNELIUS BEACH BRADLEY.

Among orientalist I think there has never been any doubt that the Devanāgarī writing of India was the remoter source from which in 1284 A. D. Prince Rām Khamhêng of Sukhōthai derived the letters which he used in giving to Siamese speech for the first time a written form.¹ The relationship between the two is abundantly seen in the number of letters, their general equivalence, their remarkable phonetic grouping in the list, and their peculiar syllabic positions as regards the vowels—to say nothing of traces still seen here and there of the ancient shapes of the letters. But as regards the more immediate source of Siamese writing, there has been so far no agreement. Three theories are in the field: 1) that the source was the Pali of the Buddhist scriptures brought by missionaries from Ceylon; 2) that it was the older Burmese writing; and 3) that it was the older Cambodian. All these forms of writing are known to be derivatives nearer or more remote of the Sanskrit of India, and so are alike eligible for the place. And one of these three apparently must have been the source, for in all that peninsula we have no trace of any other possible source;² and invention is entirely out of the question. The Devanāgarī could not have been a second time invented.

1. For the inscription which records this achievement, cf. Bradley: *The Oldest Known Writing in Siamese*, *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol vi, Pt. I, pp. 1-61.

2. To the north, filling the upper Mênam basin and the valleys of the Salwīn and the Měhkōng, and stretching far up into China, lay the great mass of the Thai tribes—then doubtless illiterate, as many of them still are. On the east, the scepter and the culture of ancient Champā had before this period passed to Cambodia, her neighbor on the south. As for the distant little province of Sī Thammarāchā on the Malay Peninsula, the learned Buddhist monk it contributed to the Prince's court (cf. the inscription cited above II. 62-660) seems to have been almost its only cultural achievement. And any alphabet which he might have brought in would almost inevitably have been the Pali, which is already included in the list.

So far all treatment of the question seems to have been largely *ex parte*, determined by individual prepossession, and without attempt to examine and bring to bear *all* the evidence available. Such an examination the writer has recently essayed to make. While he does not claim that his search has been exhaustive, it seems to him to be practically conclusive of the question. He therefore ventures the following summary of the investigation and of its results.

I.

The theory of a Pali and a Singhalese origin of the Sukhōthai letters has had by far the greatest vogue. Up to a very recent date there was practically no competing theory in the field. It is therefore the theory still almost universally held by those whose attention has not been directly called to the claims advanced for other origins.³ The antecedent probability in its favor is very great. Missionary zeal has ever been a most efficient agent in spreading the art of writing among unlettered races. Thus it was in ancient times that most of the peoples of Europe received the gift of letters. So, too, have numberless savage tribes in modern times. And quite apart from missionary effort to that end, the very presence and use of written books in a foreign tongue would be a powerful incentive to every native student of them among an illiterate race, to adapt their method to the recording of his own vernacular speech—as was done long ago in Japan. As regards the case in hand, there can be no doubt either of the religious zeal, or of the knowledge and use of the Pali scriptures in the monasteries of Siam. The inscription itself bears witness to both.⁴

But the internal evidence of the alphabet itself seems conclusive against the theory of of a Pali source. For if the source were indeed Pali, we should expect: *a*) that the alphabet would be essentially Pali in its make-up, rather than of some other Indian type; *b*) that its letters would show their origin in their shape—would be visibly like the letters of Pali texts then written in Ceylon; and *c*) that being such, they would of course be used by Siamese scribes in copying the

3. Such was the writer's own case when he made his study of the Sukhōthai inscription, *Of. op. cit.* p. 10.

4. *Cf. op. cit.* pp. 27-29.

Pali scriptures, as well as in writing the vernacular speech. But the facts are directly negative of these three presuppositions.

a) A number of the characters of the older Sanskrit writing⁵ are entirely lacking in Pali; that is, were lost in consequence of the loss of the sounds which those characters represented. All Sanskrit words which involved these sounds, if continued in Pali, were therefore altered both in pronunciation and in spelling, so that all trace of these characters was lost. Knowledge and use of them, therefore, could not have come to anyone through study of the Buddhist writings. But in Siamese all of these characters are found. The consonants among them stand in their original places in the alphabetic list.⁶ All this seems to point unmistakably to their origin in some form of Sanskrit writing.

b) The Sukhōthai letters do not in general clearly resemble any of the Singhalese forms with which the writer has been able to compare them.⁷ The divergence indeed is so great as seemingly to preclude the idea of any immediate derivation. The occasional resemblances are no more than should be expected as a result of relationship through a rather distant common ancestor.

c) So far no Pali text in a Siamese copy made so long ago as the 13th century of our era has ever been discovered. It is not probable that any such exists.⁸ It is therefore not at all likely that we can ever be absolutely sure what form of writing was at that time actually used for that purpose. It is, however, significant—as will appear more fully later—that in modern times copies of Pali texts,

5. These are the symbols for the palatal sibilant, *ç*; the dental sibilant, *s*; the *visarga*, which, at least in Siamese, is the glottal stop abruptly cutting off a vowel sound; the *l*-vowel; and the *r*-vowel.

6. As is the case in all, or nearly all, oriental alphabets, the Devanāgarī in its alphabetic list includes consonants only. Vowels are accessories akin to our diacritical marks, having no certain place in the line along with the consonants, and often no listed order or sequence.

7. Material accessible in this portion of the study was not very abundant, but what was found gave very little promise of reward for further search.

8. Because lapidary inscriptions are regularly in the vernacular, while Pali texts for the monastery libraries are as regularly inscribed on the traditional—and very perishable—palm-leaf.

and quotations from them in vernacular writings, are not generally in Siamese letters, but in Cambodian.⁹

It seems, then, that the internal evidence from the Sukhōthai alphabet alone is very nearly conclusive against the theory of its Pali origin; that the lack of any obvious resemblance between the Singhalese and the Sukhōthai letters strongly reinforces that negative; while under all three heads the evidence points positively in the direction of quite another—namely a Sanskrit—origin of the Siamese alphabet.

II.

The theory of a Burmese origin has had fewer supporters. It seems to rest *a*) upon the basis of a general resemblance claimed between the four-square writing of the Sukhōthai stone and that of ancient Burmese inscriptions; *b*) upon the fact that the present form of writing among the Thai peoples throughout northern Siam, and far beyond, through the British Shan States and French Indo-China, into China itself, is obviously of Burmese origin; and *c*) upon the further fact that for many centuries the two races have been in contact with each other along a common frontier of some hundreds of miles in length.

a) Upon examination, however, the resemblance claimed turns out to be very largely that of the general impression which the two forms of writing make when viewed in the mass. If corresponding letters are compared in detail, the resemblance for the most part vanishes, as will be seen upon reference to the accompanying chart where the Sukhōthai and the ancient Burmese letters stand side by side. The technique, moreover, or method of construction of the letters, is fundamentally different in the two cases. For while the shape is in a general way quadrate in both, in the Burmese it is exactly such—made up of separate straight strokes meeting in square corners; whereas the Sukhōthai letters are made with one continuous

9. The growing use of the printing press together with the lack of Cambodian type, will doubtless account for the very recent exceptions to this rule. The most striking example of this newer usage is the monumental edition in Siamese letters of the Tripitaka complete in thirty-three volumes published by the late King Chulalongkorn. But already before His Majesty's death a special fount of Cambodian type had been cast for the purpose of printing the Buddhist Scriptures in accordance with the old usage.

stroke throughout, resulting in lines which are rarely straight, and in corners which are nearly always somewhat rounded.¹⁰

b) The present form of writing used in the Lāo provinces of Siam is undoubtedly a rather close copy of the Burmese circular writing described in foot-note No. 10, or perhaps an earlier form of that. Its use in those provinces is historically recent, having been introduced there during the period of Burmese domination in that region. But all older monuments of vernacular writing found there are of an entirely different script, known as the Fak Khām (tamariind-pod) letters, the origin of which may be traced back directly to Sukhōthai. The introduction of the Burmese writing among the Lāo of Siam was doubtless the more easy because it was already in use among their kinsmen and neighbors of similar speech, the Western Shans of Burma.

c) Siam and Burma during all these ages have been hereditary enemies. Intercourse along their common border consisted largely of raids and reprisals, resulting in the formation of a no-man's-land—a zone of lawlessness and disorder almost impervious to cultural influences. While the distance between Maulmein and Sukhōthai seems trifling as viewed on our maps, a journey from the one to the other would have been a matter of weeks. The only routes were lonely and dangerous trails leading through labyrinths of mountains and across deep rivers, through uninhabited wastes and jungles tenanted by savage beasts and

10. There is another form of ancient Burmese writing, the so-called square Pali. It is a freakish calligraphic variant of the lapidary form shown in the chart. All vertical strokes are enormously exaggerated in width, almost obliterated the central spaces of the letters; while all horizontal elements are correspondingly reduced to slender appendages or hyphen-like connectives between the broad masses of vertical elements. The letters are painted with a broad flat brush, generally in dark brown lacquer, on a plate of gilded metal. The effect is very striking as a work of art; but it is not easily read because the distinguishing features of the letters are to a great extent obscured by the startling scheme. A thing so artificial could never have been the model for standard writing anywhere.

Another striking variant of the lapidary form has furnished the well-known Burmese script and print of the present day. In it the letters are made up almost wholly of strictly circular arcs in various combination. Its survival is almost certainly due to its special adaptation for tracing with a stylus-point on the surface of palm-leaves. It resembles the Sukhōthai writing even less than does its original. It has therefore not been thought necessary to reproduce either of these in the chart.

equally savage men. It was considered a remarkable feat when, so late as 1884, a fortnightly mail service by courier was established between Maulmein and Chiengmai.

Thus all the arguments in favor of a Burmese origin of Siamese writing seem alike to fail. But it is strange indeed that the conclusive argument against such an origin has so far apparently escaped notice altogether—the argument already urged against the theory of a Pali origin. The Burmese alphabet is conceded to have been derived from the Pali, and it contains only the Pali letters. It could not, any more than the Pali itself, have furnished to the Siamese an alphabet with the full complement of Sanskrit letters.

III.

Having gone so far, the writer was unwilling that the award should go to the third claimant merely through failure of the other two to make good their cases. A strict examination was therefore made into the positive evidence in favor of the theory of a Cambodian origin of Siamese writing. It is entirely natural that this theory should have been advanced by French explorers and scholars, since to their lot has fallen the task of gathering and mastering the material records of ancient Cambodia, in which alone was to be sought evidence bearing upon our problem. Their problem, however, is by no means the same as this of ours, but the immensely greater one of reconstructing from those fragmentary records the origin and history of the ancient empire to which in these days France has fallen heir. The few references to the Sukhōthai letters noted in the works of these men, are therefore wholly incidental—statements of the author's conviction, without attempt to enforce it by presentation and discussion of the evidence. Thanks, however, to the vivid interest of France in her new Asiatic possessions, and to the learning and skill of her orientalists, the gathered material has been in large part successfully mastered and admirably published.¹¹ The needed evidence was therefore within reach and to it the writer addressed himself.

11. In *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, Hanoi, Indo-Chine; Aymonier: *La Cambodge*, vol. 3 Paris, 1904; and particularly in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, Tome xxvii, Paris, 1893, with its most remarkable and beautiful series of phototype reproductions of inscriptions from Champā and Cambodia.

Most of the published epigraphy of southern Indo-China was carefully scrutinized for whatever light it might shed upon the source and development of Cambodian writing, leading down to the forms it actually assumed in the 13th century of our era, and to a comparison of these with the Sukhōthai writing.

The labors of Aymonier, Bergaigne, and Barth have rescued from the realm of mere folk-lore and fairy-tale the shadowy kingdom of Champā. They have shown that from the earlier centuries of the Christian era, on the shores of the China Sea and along the middle reaches of the Mēkhōng River, there really existed a kingdom of that name, founded by princely adventurers from India, who brought with them their Sanskrit speech and literature and the worship of Īva. From the sixth to the ninth centuries we have somewhat of authentic documentary information concerning this kingdom. We know, for example, the names and lineage of a number of its kings, together with the dates of some of them, and references to various affairs of the realm.

The inscriptions which record these matters are often bilingual—that is, partly in Sanskrit prose or verse, and partly in the vernacular speech; but written throughout in the Devanāgarī characters which are said to be of the form anciently used in the Dekhan of India. This kingdom of Champā at last yielded to the rising power of Cambodia, which had already taken over the culture and art of its neighbor, and which afterwards carried these on to a culmination in the tenth and eleventh centuries of our era, attested by the wonderful monuments of Angkor Wat and Nakhawn Thóm.

The Cambodian inscriptions consist generally of an opening section in stately Sanskrit verse in honor of Īva and the reigning monarch, followed a section in prose dealing with the more mundane affairs of the realm which are to be commemorated. The published series referred to deals solely with the Sanskrit portions, the ancient native speech of both realms being thought as yet too imperfectly understood to permit of satisfactory treatment. Chronologically the series ends with an inscription from Angkor Wat, apparently the very last record of that Golden Age of Cambodia. It is in classic Sanskrit verse, bearing no discoverable date, but on internal evidence judged by M. Barth to be of the early part of the thirteenth century. A long gap of silence follows it, indicative, as is surmised of the downfall of

the old régime. When at last inscriptions appear again, they are of the modern world both in speech and writing. The splendor of that elder time was already become a myth, kept alive only by the sight of those mighty ruins of unknown origin and date. Thus far my summary from the French archeologists.

Of the long series of inscriptions already mentioned, some forty-five were passed in review by the writer, and upon a selected group of them chosen mainly for their legibility, extent, and definite dating, he paused for special study of the writing. The results in each case were embodied in the form of a careful facsimile of the alphabet of each, as complete as the verbal content and the state of preservation of the inscription would permit.¹² Three of these alphabets chosen as best illustrating the gradual change of form during the six centuries preceding the Sukhōthai date, have been reproduced side by side on the chart—the last being the one from Angkor Wat referred to above. In the column next this, for ready comparison, are placed the Sukhōthai letters.¹³ The two are probably less than a century apart; and the divergence in form is, as will be readily seen, no more than should be abundantly accounted for by the time-and-space interval, by the individual differences between the style of different scribes, or by the purposeful changes which we know the Siamese Prince made in the interest of simplicity and the avoidance of confusion between letters too nearly alike in shape.

12. In no case was it possible to secure an alphabet quite complete. Weather, time, and imperfect skill on the part of engravers have rendered useless for this exact study of form, some portions of every inscription. Some letters, moreover, are of very rare use. Many more are rare in independent and unmodified form, being encountered for the most part in ligated, subscript, superscript, or even circumscribed forms, often with little or no resemblance to the standard forms as shown in the alphabetic list. None of these would at all serve us here, for Prince Rām Khamhêng abolished at a stroke all this senseless complexity, and confined each character to its one standard form and to its one place on the line.

13. The columns of the Chart contain the following:—

- I. Roman equivalents of the Sanskrit letters according to the scheme given in Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar.
- II. Cambodian Alphabet from Wat Phou (Phū), 664-670 A. D. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, II, pp. 235-240 with Plate.
- III. Alphabet from an Inscription of King Satyavarman of Champā, 965 A. D. *Notices et Manuscrites*, Tome XXVII, Pt. 1, 2d Fascicule, Plate xxvii-A.

Here then at last for the Sukhōthai letters is found an original which the transcript actually resembles, and which at the same time affords complete explanation of the presence in the transcript of the Sanskrit letters not found in the Pali, nor known anywhere else in all the peninsula of Farther India. Were there nothing more to be said the evidence on these two points alone, it seems, should suffice to decide the case in favor of the Cambodian origin. But the case is greatly strengthened when we consider the evidence of contact between the two peoples along other lines, and of other borrowings by the Siamese.

Thus, for example, the Siamese has incorporated into its vocabulary a large body of loan-words of Indian origin. Of these many, or perhaps most, appear in what are essentially their Sanskrit forms, and with their Indian meanings; while others appear in their derivative Pali forms—where these are different from the other—and with Buddhist meaning and use. Some actually appear in both forms, with some distinction of meaning or use.¹⁴ The presence of both these groups of words in Siamese speech is proof of contact some time with both civilizations. And the Cambodian civilization is the only one that could have afforded the double contact. For in Cambodia, at the period of which we speak, Buddhism was already displacing—or

IV. Cambodian Alphabet from Angkor Wat, 13th century A. D. *Notices et Manuscrites* etc. Plate LXV.

V. Burmese Alphabet from Po U Daung; taken from a photograph of an inscription of King Sinbyuyin, published in Rangoon, 1891. The inscription is modern (1774), but it has very faithfully reproduced the ancient Burmese writing, as reference to any of the published alphabets of Taylor, Faulman and Bühler will show. It was the best specimen of its kind I was able at the time to secure in unimpeachable reproduction.

14. A very few examples must suffice. The transliteration here given renders according to Whitney's scheme the actual *spelling* of the words in Siamese, and not at all their pronunciation. Sanskrit forms are:—*aksara* (Pali *akkharo*), letter, character; *satva* (Pali *satto*) a creature; *suvarna* or *subarna* (Pali *suvaranno*), gold; *Indra* (Pali *Indo*), Indra; *śrī* (Pali *siri*) glorious. Pali forms are:—*nibbāna* (Sanskrit *nirvāna*), extinction; *sāsana* (Sanskrit *śāsana*), religion; *Bhikkhu* (Sanskrit *bhikṣu*), mendicant. Doublets from the same root are:—*siṃha*, lion, and *siha* (in *rajasīha*), a fabulous monster; *Krasatrya* (for *ksatrya*), king, and *khattiya* (*jāti*), of warrior caste.

perhaps had largely displaced—Brahmanism and the cult of Īiva.¹⁵ Of the presence, however, of Hindu religious cults in various portions of the Siamese area at a period even later than our date, we have not only the evidence of place-names, such as *Mâung Brohm* (Brahmapura) and *Biñulōka* (Vishnulōka); but direct as well, in various ancient images of the Hindu deities, still regarded with reverence at the present day.¹⁶

Then again, the early Siamese religious architecture, as seen in the Sukhōthai region, at Lophburī (the ancient Lawō), and elsewhere, distinctly reproduces Cambodian and Hindu forms. Moreover the terms of court speech in Siam concerning the person, actions, and belongings of royalty, are to this day for the most part either Cambodian outright, or Cambodian-Sanskrit. Not only are the great seasonal festivals of the Siamese court—excepting, of course, those directly concerned with monastery life—but very many also of its special rites and ceremonies—the festivals of hair-cutting, coronation, swinging, and ploughing—distinctly reveal either an Indian or a Cambodian origin. There is still maintained at the present day a corps of Brahman astrologers to determine the auspicious day and hour for all courtly movements and events. In fact, behind these, and behind the newer and nearer Buddhism, there stretches on every side, in the imagination and in the thought of the Siamese, the mighty background of Hindu cosmogony, mythology, and legend, as fresh as when these were brought from India to the shores of Annam two thousand years ago. What further evidence is needed?

To summarize:—The theory of a Singhalese origin of Siamese writing postulates, as its necessary foundation, a previous contact and intercommunication between Ceylon and Sukhōthai—at the very core of the peninsula of Farther India—of the existence of which not the slightest evidence has ever been adduced, and which inherently is very

15. Buddhist religion and culture, of course, may have been separately brought into Siam by missionaries from Ceylon; for we have authentic record in later times of visits of monks from that island. Just how it was at our earlier date, I think we have as yet no positive evidence. For all that we now know, Buddhism might well have come to Siam from Cambodia along with letters and other elements of culture.

16. For example, on a famous image of Īiva, now in the Royal Museum at Bangkok, there is an inscription calling upon the people to re-establish his worship, and renounce that of Buddha.

unlikely. The theory is not supported by any clear resemblance between the Siamese letters and their supposed Singhalese originals; nor by the use either of those originals or of their Siamese derivatives by native scribes in copying the Pali scriptures. And it is distinctly negatived by the presence in Siamese writing from the very first, of elements entirely unknown in the Pali, but unmistakably Sanskrit.

The theory of a Burmese origin fails on these same lines. Contact between the two peoples there has been; but it has never been intimate and friendly; and it has left almost no trace upon the culture of central Siam. Neither of the three forms of Burmese writing visibly resembles the Siamese. And, being derived from the Pali, Burmese writing has not, and could not have furnished the Siamese, its striking Sanskrit features.

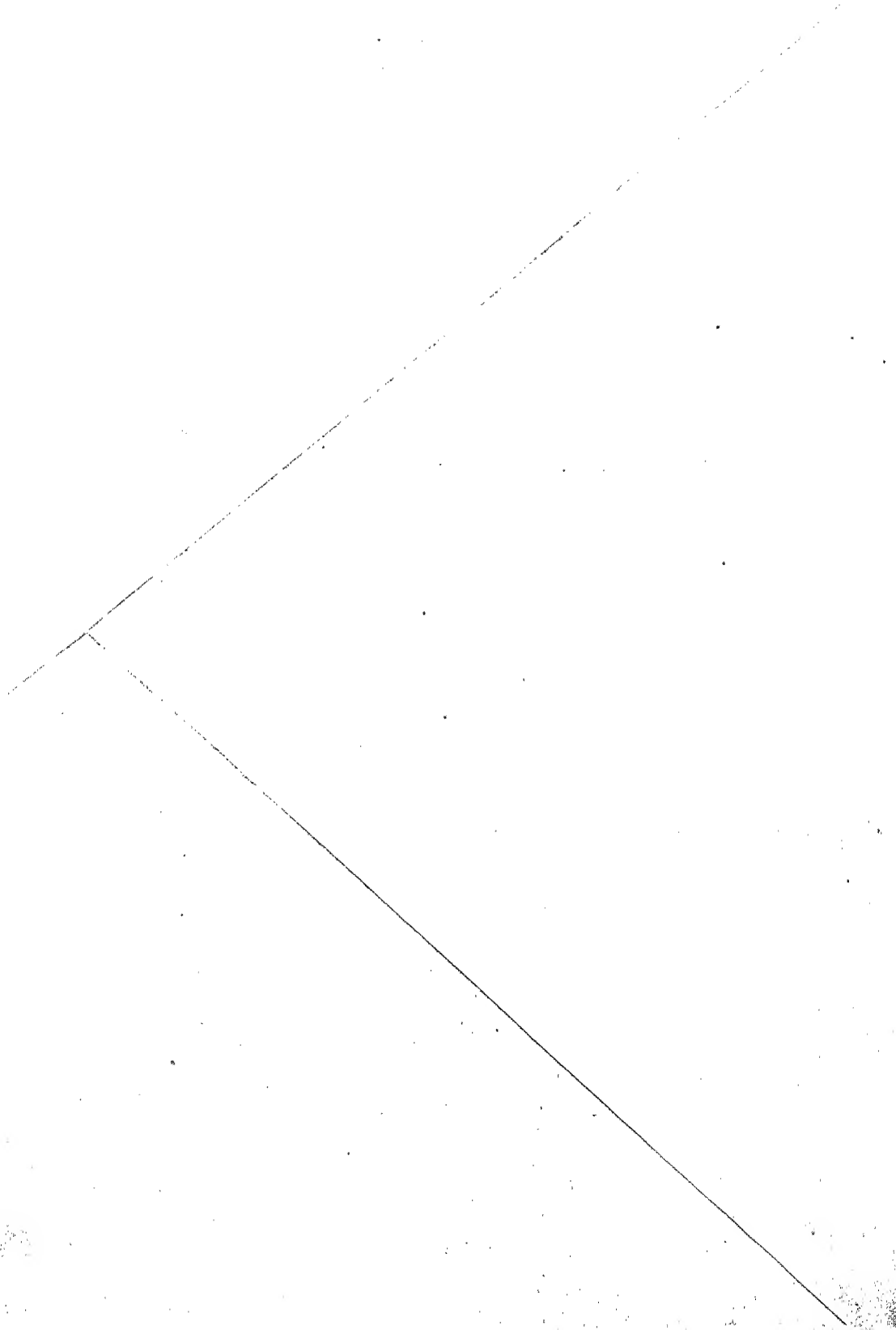
Cambodian culture was Brahmanical and Indian throughout. Cambodian writing retains its distinctive Sanskrit features to the present day. Historically, the shape of the Cambodian letters—originally Indian—underwent gradual change, until in the thirteenth century A.D., they are found to approximate very nearly the Sukhōthai letters in, scribed a little later. The close cultural contact between the two peoples suggested by the epigraphy, is strongly corroborated and extended by consideration of the very large borrowings from Cambodia found in Siamese speech, ceremonial, art, and government.

Berkeley, California, January 14th, 1913.

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Romanized SANSKRIT	CAMBODIA 660 A.D.	CHAMPĀ 784 A.D.	CAMBODIA 13th Century	SUKHŌTHAI 1284 A.D.	BURMESE	Romanized SANSKRIT	CAMBODIA 660 A.D.	CHAMPĀ 784 A.D.	CAMBODIA 13th Century	SUKHŌTHAI 1284 A. D.	BURMESE
k	က	က	က	က	က	dh	သ	သ	သ	သ	သ
kh	ခ	ခ	ခ	ခ	ခ	n	န	န	န	န	န
g	ဂ	ဂ	ဂ	ဂ	ဂ	p	ပ	ပ	ပ	ပ	ပ
gh	ဃ	လ			ဃ	ph				ဃ	
ñ	င	င	င	င	င	b				ဃ	ဝ
c	စ	ဃ	ဃ	ဃ	ဃ	bh	သ	သ	ဂ	ဂ	က
ch					ဃ	m	မ	မ	မ	မ	မ
j	ဇ	ဇ	ဇ	ဇ	ဇ	y	ယ	ယ	ယ	ယ	ယ
jh						r	ရ	ရ	ရ	ရ	ရ
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RECENT ADVANCES IN OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE FLORA OF SIAM.



The earliest collections, of any extent, of Siamese plants were made in Peninsular Siam, for the most part in the territory adjoining the British Protected Malay States. It was not till the Danish scientific expedition arrived at the end of 1899 that a large collection was made in any other part of the country. This expedition, under Dr. J. Schmidt, collected from the end of December 1899 till March 1900 on Koh Chang and to a less extent on the neighbouring small islands. A very successful attempt was made, considering the short time available, to obtain a representative collection of the whole flora of this small area and the phytoplankton of the surrounding sea. The results of this expedition have been published from time to time in the *Botanisk Tidsskrift* of Copenhagen. Nine parts of this work have been issued and the tenth part, which will complete the series, is expected shortly.

In 1904-1905 Dr. F. N. Williams published, in the *Bulletin de l'Herbier Boissier*, a list of the flowering plants of Siam known to that date; this list included the published results of the Danish expedition, the Siamese plants given in various works dealing with the flora of adjoining territories and the Siamese plants then in the Kew Herbarium. 1042 species are recorded and an account is given of the collections made in Siam before 1904.

While Dr. Williams's list was being published Dr. C. C. Hosseus visited the country and collected for nearly a year, chiefly in the North of Siam. Descriptions of portions of these collections and of the new species contained in them have appeared in various periodicals since the return of Dr. Hosseus to Europe. The results are summarized in a paper published in 1911, "*Die Botanischen Ergebnisse meiner Expedition nach Siam*," in the *Beihefte zum Botanischen Centralblatt*, Vol. xxviii, pt. II. This paper enumerates some 540 species of flowering plants, about 70 of which have been described as new by Dr. Hosseus with the assistance of several other botanists. These plants have also

yielded two new genera, both monotypic, *Sarothrochilus* in the *Orchidaceae* and *Richthofenia* in the *Rafflesiaceae*; the latter is a most interesting genus nearly allied to the celebrated *Rafflesias* of Malaya. Dr. Hosseus also lists 34 ferns and 20 mosses and liverworts, 4 of them being new.

Since Dr. Hosseus left Siam collections have been made in different parts of the country by several collectors, and these are being worked out at Kew Herbarium, which has unrivalled facilities for determining such collections, as it has the finest existent sets of Burmese and Shan States' plants for comparison with the closely related Siam Flora; it also possesses a nearly complete set of Dr. Hosseus's plants. Practically the whole of these later collections have been worked out by Mr. W. G. Craib, of the Kew staff, and published at intervals in the Kew Bulletin.

The lists so published, with the addition of plants received at Kew since their publication, and Dr. Hosseus's plants, have been summarized as far as the end of the Dicotyledons by Mr. Craib in a paper printed for the University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Studies, No. 57, 1912. This paper contains some 1,150 species not in Dr. Williams's list; of these no less than 150 have been described as new. Two new genera have been proposed, *Pittosporopsis* in the Natural Order *Scacinaceae*, and *Murtonia*, a very distinct genus in the *Leguminosae*. Mr. Craib's paper also contains a very useful bibliography of works relating to the Flora of Siam.

A list of the Monocotyledons, exclusive of the *Orchidaceae*, and Gymnosperms was published in the Kew Bulletin last December. In this last instalment the *Dioscoreaceae* have been determined by Mr. I. H. Burkill, the *Palmeae* by Dr. O. Beccari, the *Cyperaceae* by Mr. W. B. Turrill, and the *Gramineae* by Dr. O. Stapf; all the other orders have been undertaken by Mr. Craib. This list has 260 species not on Dr. Williams's list, 41 of them being new. There must be added to the Monocotyledons some 75 species, chiefly Orchids, given in Dr. Hosseus's paper but not mentioned by Dr. Williams or Mr. Craib.

While the Kew lists were appearing, Mr. H. N. Ridley published the results of his Botanical Expedition to Peninsular Siam together with determinations of plants found by other collectors in the same region. Mr. Ridley's paper has approximately 740 species of

flowering plants not given in any of the before mentioned papers; about 70 of these have been described as new; over 60 ferns are also named.

The number of new species described from all these collections is large, a little more than 12% of all the species collected. The number of endemic genera is proportionately much smaller; besides the four already mentioned, which are all monotypic, there is one other, *Phyllanthodendron*, with three species.

The total number of flowering plants known from Siam approximates therefore to 3,300 species. The recorded number of flowering plants from Burma, a country still far from thoroughly explored botanically, amounts to between 6,000 and 7,000; it would be a conservative estimate to put the total at 10,000. Siam, which extends through almost as many degrees of latitude and has an equally diversified surface, cannot be far behind Burma in point of numbers so that there remains a vast amount of work to be done before the Flora of Siam is even moderately well known.

A. F. G. KERR.

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HE

THE
ATTITUDES OF THE BUDDHA,

BY

O. FRANKFURTER, PH. D.

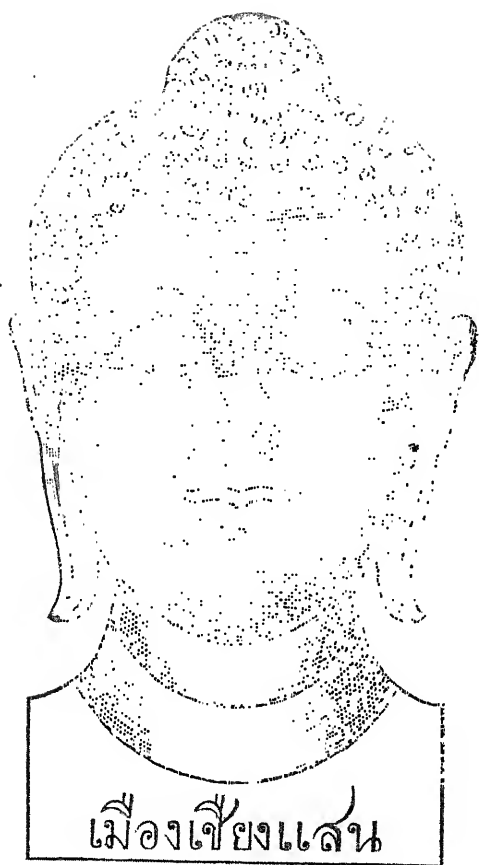


Table A.



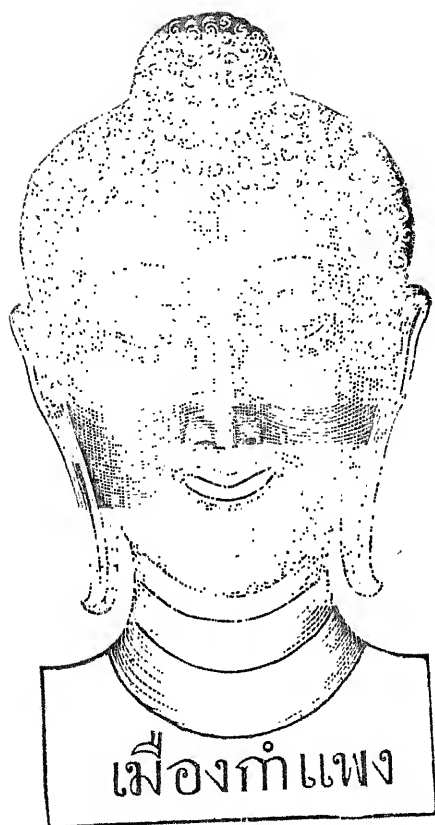
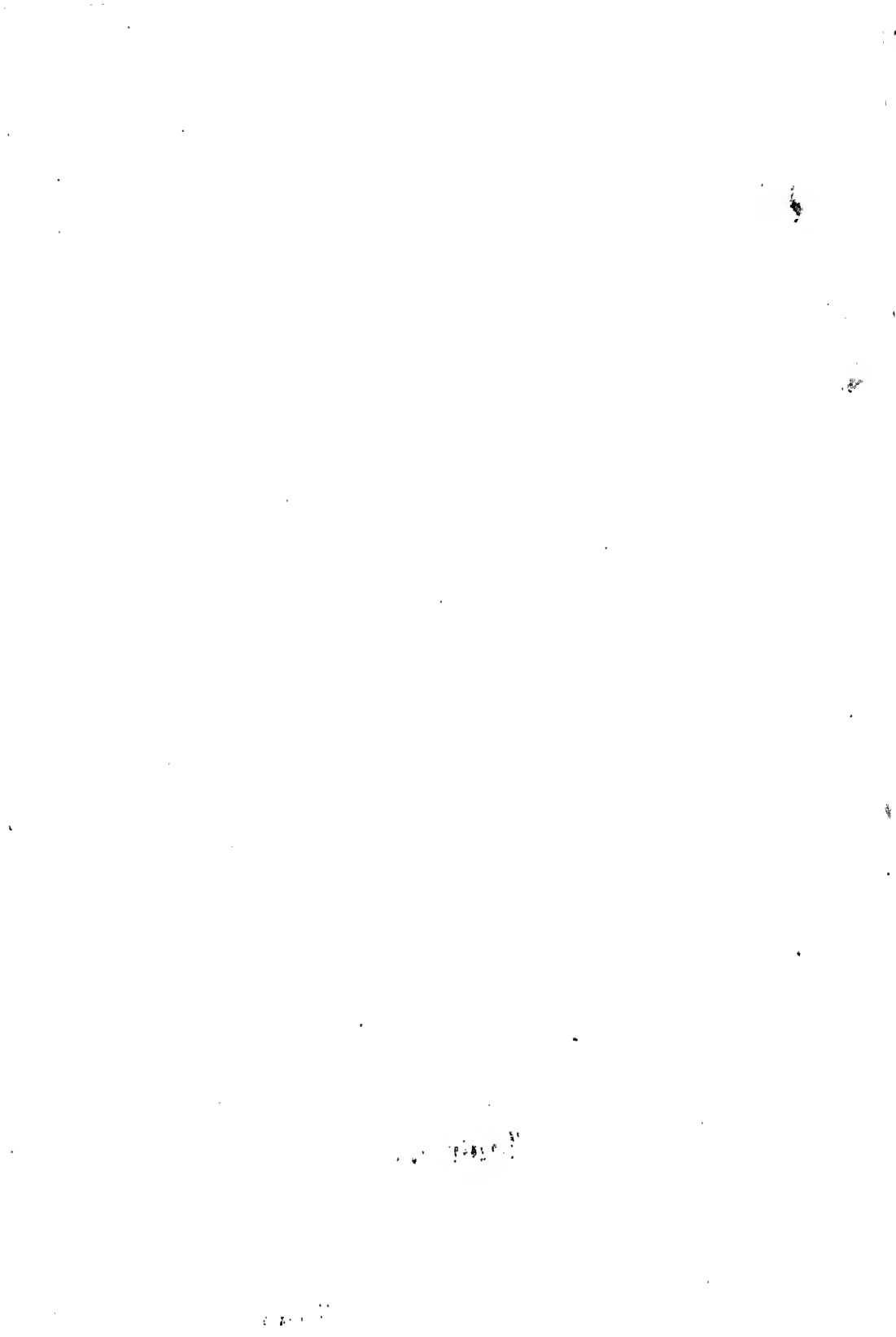


Table B.



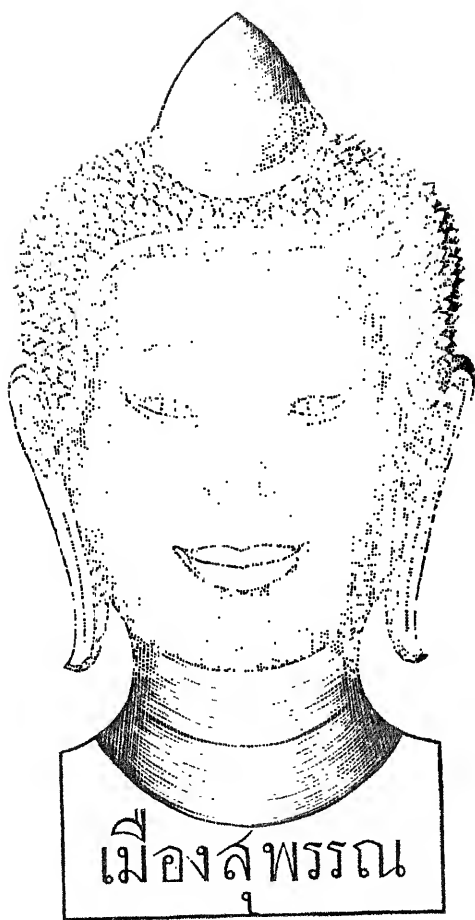


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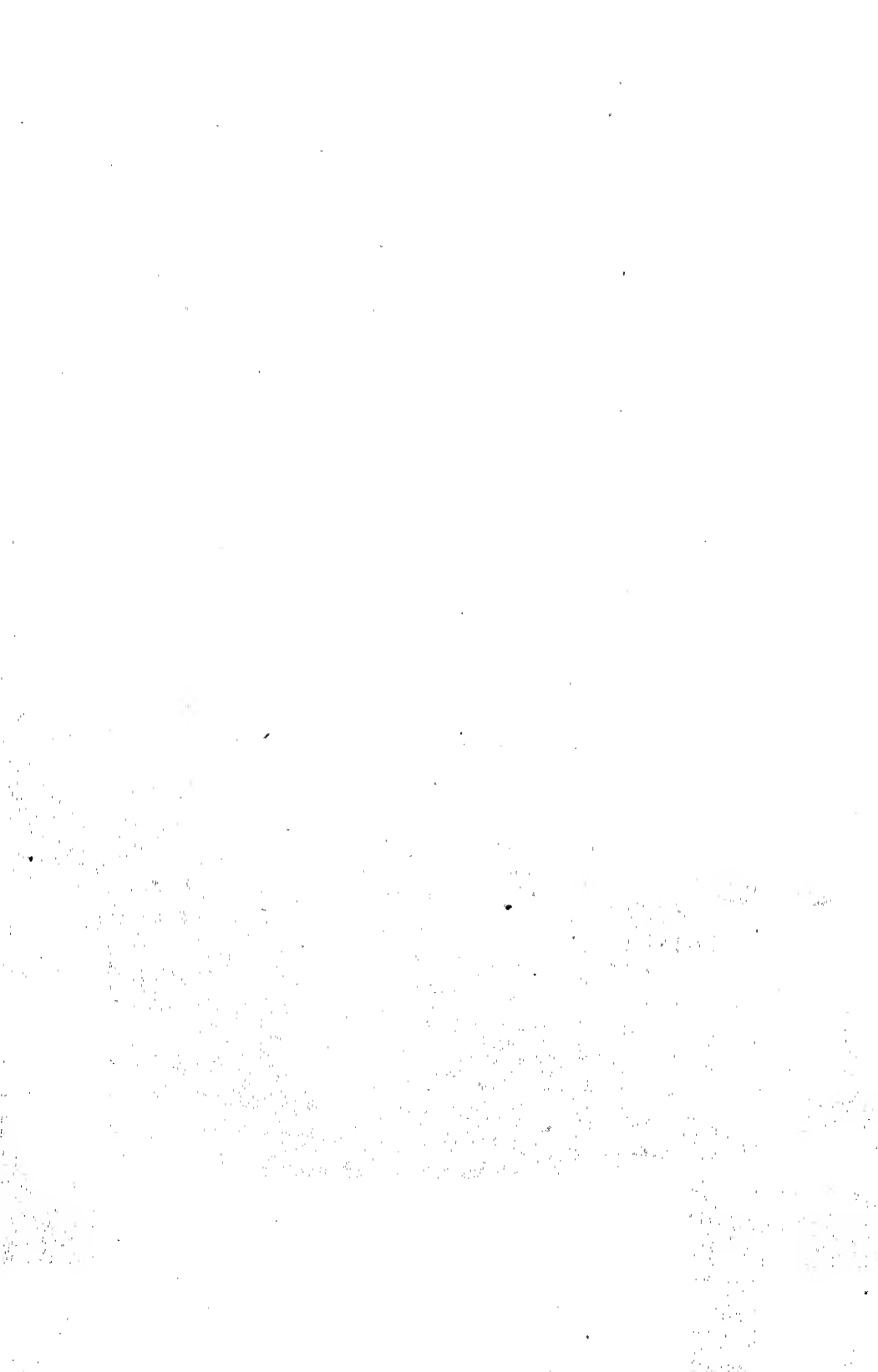


The Attitudes of the Buddha.

It is well known that the statues and images of the Buddha as we find them as objects of reverence in temples, palaces, and private houses wherever Buddhism is confessed, represent a phase of the real and legendary life of the founder as we find it recorded in the Sacred Books. It is considered an act of merit-making to recall in statues and pictures the features of the Buddha and they are looked upon "as images or likenesses of his person made for the purpose of keeping his followers mindful of him and consequently to gladden and delight their hearts at the thought of the Infinitely knowing one."

It follows therefrom that these statues are not considered as objects of worship in this sense that by addressing to them a prayer or wish it will be exauced or granted.

Only in a few instances have these statues inscriptions which record the date on which they were made and on what occasion, so that they have only in a limited sense an historical value. It remains of course for the individual to select for representation any phase in the life of the Buddha, but from the various statues existing it will be possible to reconstruct the life of the founder. Only to a limited extent is it possible to fix the place of the origin of these statues although generally speaking we may distinguish, by the form of their heads, statues coming from the North, the central and the Southern part of Siam. (See Tables A. B. C., drawn from statues preserved in the Museum of the Ministry for the Interior). How far we can derive from these statues ethnological data we cannot really discuss, as generally speaking the historically authenticated Buddha statues hitherto found in Siam do not go further back than 1,000 years. We may make certain deduction about the relative age of the statues by their dress as generally speaking those with Brahmanical headgear, etc., may be considered the older ones as Brahmanism prevailed in Siam before Buddhism. Thus also we may consider the statues of the Buddha the older ones in which traits of Brahmanical mythology occur such as Buddha protected by the Naga King. No deduction as to the age of the statues can, however, be made from the more or less orthodox peculiarities of the characteristics of the body as laid down in the



Buddha laksana since, for instance, King Phra Nangklao considered it a work of merit to shorten the fingers of the statue of the Sakyamuni preserved now in Wat Sudas(anadevārāma) in Bangkok.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to explain the meaning attached to the statues of the Buddha as they are found in Siam. It is in the main a translation of an essay of the Somteĵ Phra Paramanujit, the son of the King Phra Buddha Yot Fa, who died in 1854, and who rightly enjoyed a great literary reputation. It may at once be explained that besides the statues described in the following pages there are numerous others, as any act or legend recorded lends itself to a pictorial exhibition and the representations here given cannot thus even be described as the only orthodox ones; but it may be said of them that they are most frequently met with in Siam. Other statues occur in the attitude of the Buddha which are, however, only representations of one of his disciples or followers. Thus, to give a classical example, the so-called big-bellied Buddha is in reality the representation of Kaccayana, the founder of grammar. In Siam he is worshipped as assisting women in child-birth, but a confusion has taken place with the legend of Angulimala, another disciple of the Buddha, formerly a robber. It may be also mentioned that to pay respect to the memory of a deceased priest his image is reproduced mostly in a sitting attitude of the Buddha.

The reproductions of the statues of the Buddha in the following pages are not intended as works of art; they give in bare outline the attitude of the Buddha and were drawn under the direction of Mr. Healey by the pupils of the school of arts. Most of the originals of the statues are kept in Wat Prakeo and were made in the reign of King Mongkut, who destined them also to serve as a memorial to the legitimate Kings who reigned in Ayuddhya from 1350 up to 1767, and further from the reign of Khun Luang Tak in Bangkok up to the King Phra Nangklao.

It may finally be added that every Wat contains the statue of the Buddha which is considered the chief one. The Buddha in any position may be considered the chief image, but as a matter of fact those in sitting attitude appear to be the most numerous, and among them again the temptation of the Buddha by Mara and of the Buddha in self-concentration.

This legendary representation of the birth of the Buddha is taken from statuary preserved in Wat Arun, Bangkok.



The Birth of the Buddha

พระโพธิสัตว์ประสูติ

Tradition has it that the Buddha after leaving the Court of his father remained for six years in solitude reflecting on sorrow and its causes. He is represented sitting with his hands crossed over his chest. (1).



1

ทรงทำทุกกรกิริยา

On the full-moon day of the Visākha month the Buddha received from the hands of Sujāta in the morning a dish of milk rice. He received it sitting and his hands opened. (2)



After having partaken of the meal, he sets the dish floating on the Nerañjara River. He is represented sitting and setting the dish floating with both hands. (3)



3

ทรงลอยถาดทองณะแม่น้ำเนรญชรา

In the evening he receives 8 bundles of thatched grass from the hands of a Brahman (to prepare a couch). He receives it standing, stretching out his right hand. (4)



He then formed the resolve that the couch should be made into a jewelled couch for him to lie down turning towards the east of the Mahabodhi. He then formed this resolution :—"Even if my flesh and blood should be dried up, and there should only be left one vein and one nerve, unless I receive supreme knowledge, I will not leave this couch." He then sat down turning his face to the East. In the evening Vasavatti Māra, the supreme king, and his horde tempted him. They were defeated and returned. He is represented sitting in contemplation his right leg over the left one and his right hand touching his knee, the position known as "the conquest of Māra." (5)



In the first watch he acquired knowledge of previous existence; and he knew by his divine eyes what would happen, in the middle watch; and he knew in the last watch the chain of causation and at daybreak he acquired supreme knowledge and he said to himself "Buddha," *i.e.*, the enlightened one, who knows everything, the jewel through which joy will accrue to the world and all that is on it. He then remained under the shadow of the Bo tree for seven days, until this act became known in the abode of the gods, and doubt arose among them, and they enquired whether this was only one act of the Buddha. When the Buddha got cognisance thereof, he, having reached in the fourth stage of meditation supernatural knowledge, awoke from such meditation, and rose into the air; and by this double miracle the gods were free from doubt. The Buddha then descended towards the North-east, a small distance from the jewelled seat. He contemplated on the conditions how he acquired supreme knowledge under the Bo tree and under the jewelled seat. He kept his eyes open constantly without wrinkling, bestowing his looks on the world. He is represented standing and folding his hands. (6)



6

ทรงพิจารณาพระบารมีธรรม
ที่ได้ปลื้มพระ โพธิญาณทั้ง โพธิพฤษ
เร็วกว่าภาวนาเนตร

And to whatever place the Buddha expressed his wish to proceed, such wish was fulfilled. He is represented with his left foot lifted up and his hands resting on his lap. (7)



The Buddha then enjoyed supreme happiness under the Banyan tree, when Māra approached him to extinguish annihilation. The Buddha replied that the time had not yet arrived as priests and nuns, the male and female followers, had not yet received instruction and good conduct had not yet spread. We the Tathāgata will only reach annihilation (Nirvāna) when our followers know our doctrine and good conduct is spread, then we will enter into Nirvāna. He is represented sitting lifting his right hand warding off Māra. (8)



The Buddha enjoyed the happiness of emancipation under the Muccalindo tree. Then the King of serpents, Muccalinda, approached him and surrounded him seven times with his body and covered his head, so as to prevent mist, dew, wind and the sun reaching him. He is represented in the attitude of contemplation with the King of serpents encircling him. (9)



He then enjoyed the happiness of emancipation under the Ket* tree, and in the morning the God Indra offered him the fruit of the gall-nut tree. He is represented sitting receiving the fruit. (10)

* Rājāyatana.



At that time Tapussa and Bhalika, two merchant brothers, offered him some prepared rice. The Buddha reflected in what vessel to receive it and at that time a King offered him four almsbowls made of stone ; by the force of his wish he made them into one. He is represented sitting with his hands over the almsbowls. (11)



11

ทรงรับบาตรเสถมัย ๔ บาตร

ทรงบันทาลอิทธิภิกษุสงฆ์ขาวเชื่อมประสานให้ติดเป็นบาตรเดียว

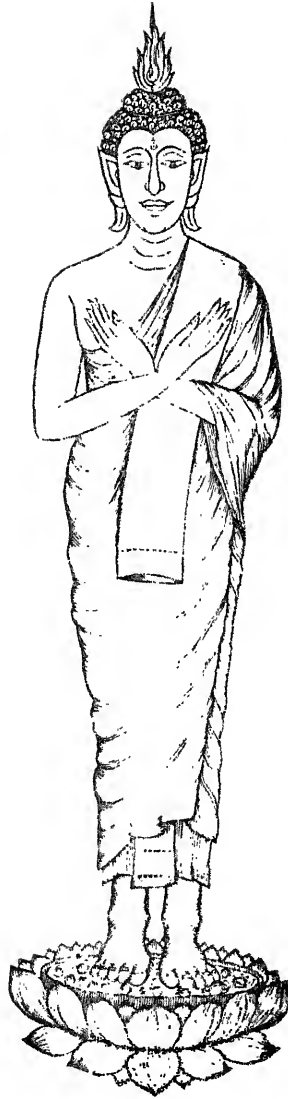
After having partaken of the meal, the merchants asked the Buddha for a lock from his hair. He is raising his hand to pull it out. (12)



12

เมื่อพ่อค้าสองคนพี่น้องทูลขอพระเกษชาตุ
ทรงนํายกพระหัตถ์เสวยพระเกษ

The Buddha then returns to the Banyan tree enjoying the happiness of emancipation fully comprehending the cause. He was doubtful whether it would be conducive to happiness if he would explain the conditions of things. At that time the Brahman Sahampati, being informed thereof, hastened to entreat the Buddha to explain the conditions of things. The Buddha is represented standing with his hands crossed over his chest. (13)



13

ทรงพระประจวรหนัก
ทรงขับไล่อาพาธนั้น ให้ระงับด้วยอิทธิบาทภาวนา

After having listened to the Brahman Sahampati the Buddha left the Banyan tree and proceeded to the abode of the five hermits explaining to them that he was the Enlightened One and that they should believe in his supreme knowledge. He explained to them the Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta so that Kondañña got knowledge of the purity of the Law, and received sanctification and he taught Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahanana, Assaji, so that they might acquire the fruit of the purity in due time and he initiated them by the words: "Come here, ye priests." He is represented sitting raising his hand motioning them. (14)



14

ทรงกวักพระหัตถ์เรียกให้พระเบญจวักคีย์
อุปสมบทด้วยเขฬะภิกษุ

The Buddha then stopped at the Bamboo grove in Rajagriha, when Upatissa and Kotila two friends approached him to be ordained as priests. The Enlightened One granted them permission and he taught them how to become Arahats with their followers, and appointed them to the foremost rank. He is represented sitting pointing one hand towards them. (15)



15

ทรงตั้งเขตที่คัคคสถาน

From Rajagriha the Buddha proceeded to the Gotamaceti at Vesālī, where he remained during the cold season. During that time the dew fell and he felt the cold all night. He dressed in four robes to guard against the cold. He then gave instructions regarding the right dress to be worn in the cold season. He is represented sitting touching his dress with both hands. (16)



16

ทรงห่มจีวรซ้อนสี่ชั้น พอทนหนาวเมื่อฤดูหนาว

He then proceeded to Rajagriha. There Kaludāyī invited him to Kapilavatthu. The Buddha accepted the invitation and he proceeded there in a leisurely way. He is represented standing, his left hand hanging down and lifting his left leg. (17)



When he arrived at Kapilavatthu his relations had made preparations for receiving him at the Nigrodhārama. His relations left him and none of them asked him to partake of food. In the morning he went out himself to collect food in the city. He is represented standing, holding his almsbowl in both hands. (18)



Later on the heretics came and followed him with a view of performing a miracle before him. A gardener offered a ripe mango to the Buddha. The Buddha looked at Ananda, who understood his meaning and offered him a stone almsbowl; with this the Buddha received the fruit: he wanted to sit down and then Ananda spread out the Sanghati for him and pressed out the juice from the mango. After the Buddha had partaken of it, the gardener offered him some water which the Buddha receives in the almsbowl. He then told the gardener to plant the seed at the place, and he washed his hands over the place where the mango had been planted. He is represented in partaking of the mango water. (19)



19

เมื่อตรัสให้เพาะเมล็ดมะม่วง

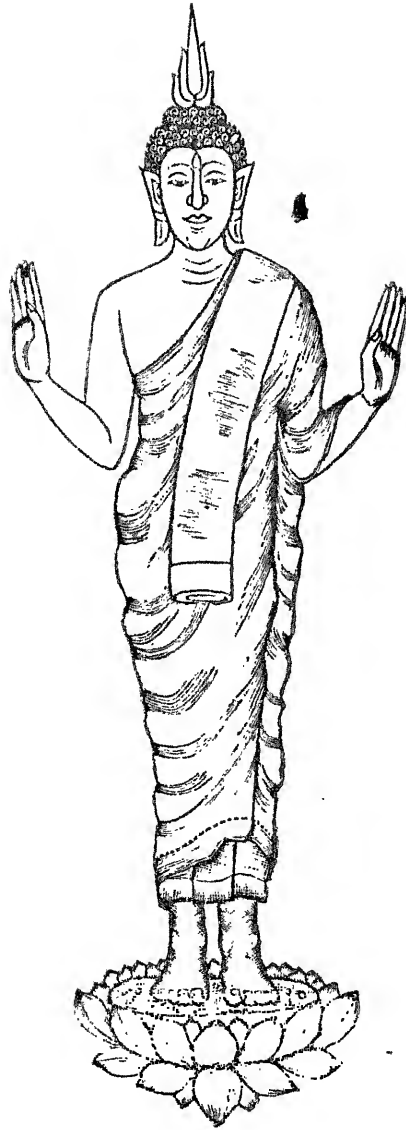
And then receiving the water in the almsbowl. (20)



20

ทรงรับน้ำมะม่วงด้วยบาตร

After having restrained the heretics by this miracle the Buddha proceeded to the Tavatimsa heaven, where he propounded the Abhidhamma doctrine to his mother for three months. After the completion of the season (Pavarana) the Buddha left heaven. He is represented standing stretching out his arms opening the world. (21)



When the Buddha took away the shroud of the slave girl Pun-na, he is represented standing, his right hand hanging down and in the left carrying a stick, pointing out analytical meditation arising from it. (22)



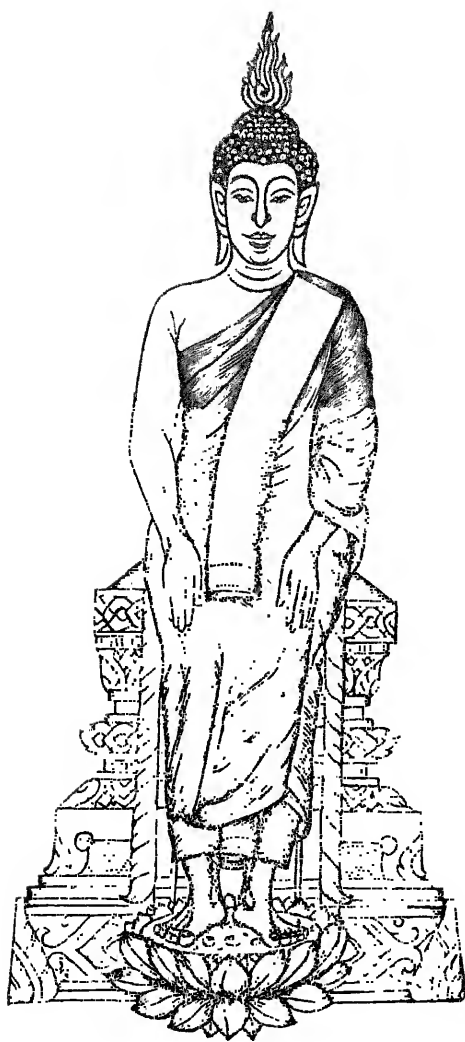
After having washed the shroud he had it cleaned and prepared for the robe of priests. He is represented sitting, his left hand holding a needle and the right hand a thread ready for stitching. (23)



23

ทรงพระปวรกเริ่มจักรวรรต สันเขมเขมจักร

At that time three dangers arose in the City of Vesālī. The King of the Licchavi together with the people thought of quelling the danger. When they had agreed on the plan, Mahali invited the Buddha to Rajagriha. The King Bimbisara sent for his reception a covered boat, adorning it with flowers and preparing a seat on it. The Buddha is represented with his feet hanging down. (24)



When the Buddha was alone in the jungle an elephant with the name of Pālileyyaka came to attend him. The Buddha is represented sitting, his feet hanging down and his hands stretched out to receive the elephant. (25)



25

เสด็จอยู่ป่าติโดยกั

The Brahman Vakkali was always intent on seeing the Buddha and he went therefore to the abode of the Buddha, and was admitted as a priest. He always fixed his eyes on the Buddha but the Buddha forbade him to do so. The Buddha is represented sitting, signalling with his hands. (26)



26

ใบกพระหัตถ์วิสัฏฐาประณามพระวักกั

Once upon a time in the district of Kosala no rain was falling throughout the Kingdom and the people asked the Buddha to intervene for them, and the Buddha showing mercy remained near the Lotus pond at Jetavana. He bears a bathing cloth with which he covers the upper and lower parts of the body. He proceeded to the steps of the pond, when clouds covered the sky everywhere and the rain fell copiously. He is represented lifting his right hand washing his body. (27)



27

เมื่อชาวเมืองโกศลมาทูลขอฝน
ทรงยืนยกพระหัตถ์ลูบพระกายสรงน้ำฝน

When the Buddha received an invitation of the merchant Culapunna, the younger brother of the priest Mahāpunna, he ordered Ananda to select 499 priests to follow him. Ananda obeyed the behest of the Buddha. In the morning when the Buddha was sitting in meditation, the throne of Indra became hot and Indra ordered Visukamma to prepare 500 seats at the gate of Jetavana and the Buddha sat down on one of the seats and the 499 priests sat on the others and the remaining seat was reserved for Saccabanda. When the Buddha reached the mountain Saccapabbata he stopped his throne in mid air, urging Saccabanda to give up the heretic doctrine and to become a priest with the words: "Come priest"; whereupon he followed the Buddha. The Buddha partook of the meal in the house of Culapunna the merchant and then returned. The King of the Nāga then begged the Buddha to leave a footprint on the bank of Namada river. When he arrived at the mountain of the Saccabanda the Buddha said:—"Formerly you were a great teacher who assembled around you many followers teaching the wrong doctrine, now you stay and assemble your people and teach them so that they may give up the heretic doctrine and enter the golden path of Nirvana." Saccabanda then asked for a mark which might be worshipped. The Buddha then left his footprint on a stone and it appeared as if the footprint was made on wet earth. The Buddha is represented leaving an impression of his foot.* (28)

* This is perhaps the original of the Sacred Footprint.



28

ทรงยืนเหยียบแสดงรอยพระบาท
ไว้ณหลังหินเขาสัจจกัณฑ์

When the Buddha stayed in Jetavana in the City of Savatthi, no rain fell and the rice withered all over the country. The water in the tanks, ponds and rivers was dried up and even the lotus pond from which the Buddha partook of water. Fishes suffered great distress, because the crows preyed upon them whilst the rest hid themselves in the mud. At that time the Buddha went with his almsbowl collecting food and when he saw this he felt pity. After having partaken of food the Buddha called Ananda asking him to bring him a bath cloth. Ananda said that the water was dried up since several days but the Buddha called for the bath cloth again, and when Ananda gave it to him, the Buddha covered his body with a part of it whilst he put the other part over his shoulder. He stood up near the pond, and is represented calling for rain with his right hand, and opening the left hand to catch the water and then the rain was falling.* (29)

* This is the statue carried in procession at the Sowing Festival.



29

พระคันธาระราชบุรี

Whilst the Buddha was stopping during the Lent season at the Veluvāna he got seriously ill, but he was able to overcome the illness through his patience and through the powers he had acquired. After he had recovered from his illness he explained the law of old age to Ananda, saying : "Now we the Tathagata are 80 years of age, our body is like a cart which must be repaired with bamboo." He is represented sitting, his two hands placed on his lap. (30)



30

ทรงแสดงชาตรวมแก่พระอานนท์
ว่าพระกายของพระองค์เหมือนเรือนแก้ว

The Buddha spoke to Ananda: "Whoever has attained the four constitutes of magic power, he will be borne firmly established and will be like a vehicle which always moves in the right path, and if such a man desired to live for over a whole kalpa or more he may do so. We the Tathagata by our magical power may live a kalpa or more." When the Buddha uttered this distinctly, Ananda understood the meaning, but was not mindful enough to address the Buddha to lengthen the life. At that time the Māra came reminding the Buddha about the words he had addressed to him saying: "Now the community and the precepts of the Buddha are flourishing, according to the words of the Buddha, would he extinguish passions and enter into Nirvāna?" Then the Buddha:—"Within a short time, in three months time, we will enter into Nirvāna," and after having thus spoken to Māra he discussed on age and the Sankhāra. He is represented sitting, lifting his right hand reflecting about his age. (31)



31

ปลงพระชนมายุสังขาร

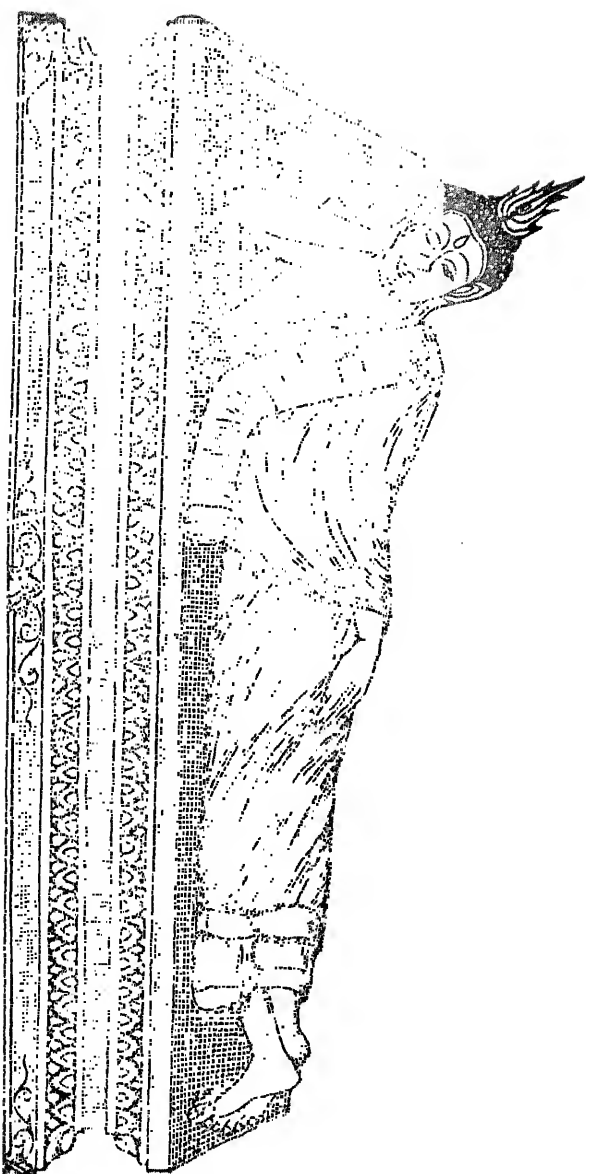
And the Buddha then stopped at the mango grove when he received food in the shape of soft pork from the hands of Chunda. After partaking of the food he became ill, his bowels were out of order so that he was sick unto death. He would not have partaken of this meal and would have partaken of fresh pork, but it was ordained that this was to be a conspicuous example of alms collecting in the time of Buddha. (32).



32

ตามเมืองเวสาลี
ว่าเป็นความเห็นภายหลังเรียกว่านาคาวโลก





The Death of the Buddha

นิพนธ์โดย ศาสตราจารย์

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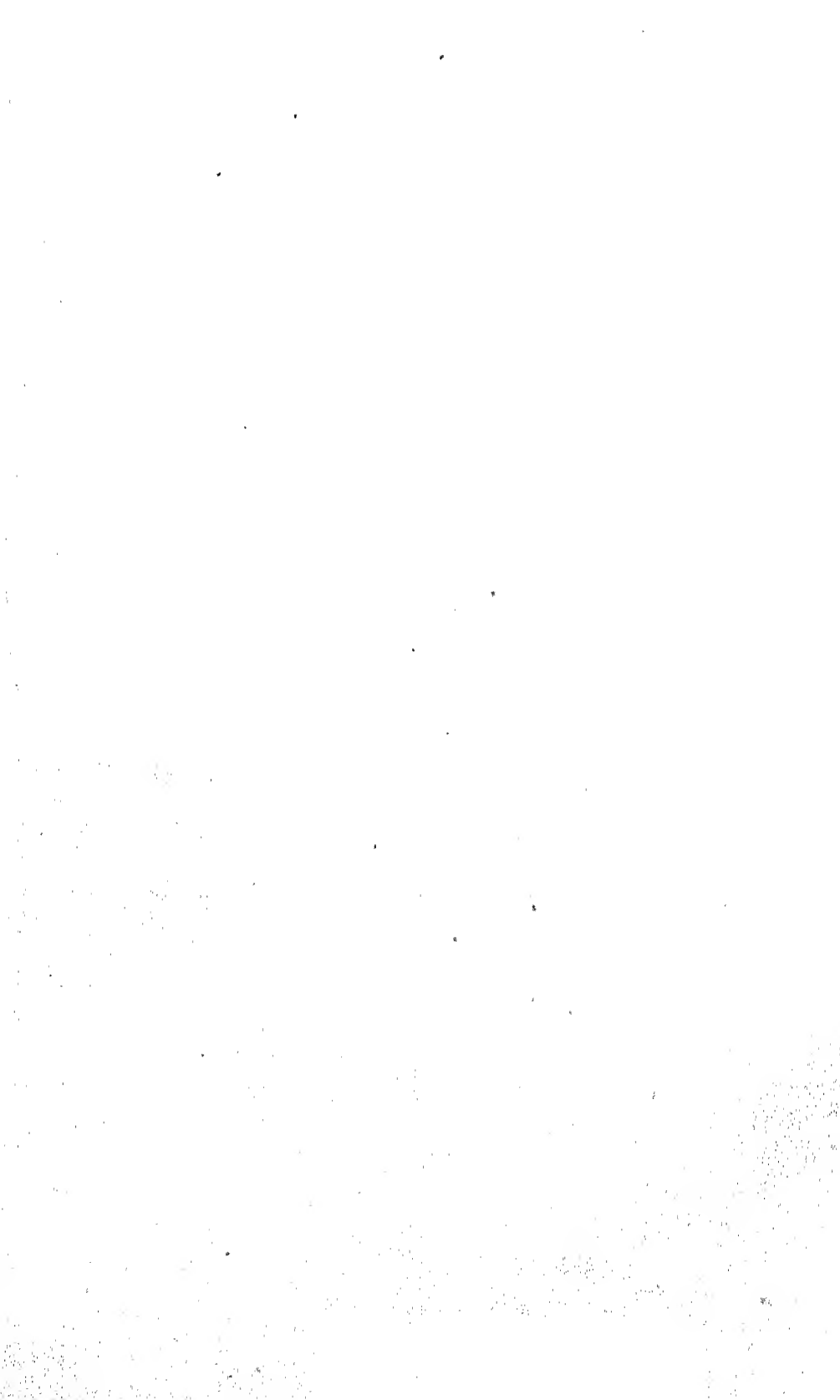
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Immigration of the Mons into Siam.

The Mons in Siam, though but a feeble folk as compared with the far more numerous Siamese and others, have yet a special claim on our attention for various reasons. They represent one of the oldest civilizations of Indo-China. They themselves claim in the literature handed down to have been visited by Buddhist missionaries as far back as the time of Asoka, the great Buddhist emperor of India, who sought to spread the faith far and wide. Doubt has sometimes been raised as to whether this event really took place, but recent researches seem to confirm what is recorded. At Thatôn, the first seat of a Mon Kingdom, there were learned men in the early centuries of the Christian era, well versed in the Tripitaka and in Vedistic lore. It is certain that, in the eleventh century, Anawratha, of Pagan, then rising into power, looked to the learning of the Mon capital to help him in his efforts to purify the religion of his own people. The Mon books speak of certain Mon priests who, changing their nationality, went to Pagan and were well received by the king. The Burmese monarch is said to have learned from them all about the resources of the Mon king, and thereafter took steps to possess himself of the treasures of Thatôn. After a protracted siege the city fell before him, and he carried off to Pagan the king, the men of learning and everything upon which he could lay his hands.

But it is not of Thatôn that we are to speak now. As various observers have well said, the Mons are found in Siam living in their own villages and keeping up their own language and traditions. The history of their ancestors cannot well be studied without taking into account the Mons of Siam. There is a considerable literature extant, and much of it is conserved in this country. It is to the Mons of Siam that scholars look when they wish to get hold of the records of the past. That is another subject possessing interests all its own.

The Mons too are, linguistically, at any rate, allied to the people who inhabited Lower Siam in bygone days. The people who inhabit-

ed the country around the old-time capital, which stood near the site of the present Phrapatom and was, according to Colonel Gerini, the great port of Siam in that day, probably spoke a language akin to that of the Mons, and it is possible that the people who then inhabited peninsular Siam were actually Mons. That, however, is more of the nature of conjecture than established fact. Enough to say that the Mons of the past were a people to be reckoned with, and even those of the present day may not be ignored.

Let us, however, get at some of the facts relating to the immigration of numbers of that race, who at one time or another left the land of their fathers and sought new homes in Siam. The story of the Mon immigrations takes us back to very stirring times in the history of Siam and Burma, and it is to the stirring events of those times that we must look for the causes which led so many Mons to flee to Siam for refuge. We do not require to go further back than to the first half of the sixteenth century to look for the beginning of events which led thereto. Pegu had enjoyed a long time of peace under Dhammaceti and Bañā Rām. The former won fame as something of a religious reformer and left behind him valuable epigraphical records. It is interesting here to note that one of these records, the Kalyani inscription in Pali, has recently been published in Siamese character with a Siamese translation. One of the historical books lately published from the Mon Press at Paklat, takes his name for its title, and gives his somewhat romantic story. Bañā Rām erected many religious and other public buildings. It may be mentioned that there is here in the National Library in Bangkok a copper plate recording in Mon the founding of a pagoda by this king. His only great outing, with something like military display, was a pilgrimage to one of the famous shrines of Pagan. A natural son of Bañā Rām, known in history as Smin Dhaw, was the last king of Mon race to reign in Pegu.

Dakā Rat Pi, the son and successor of Bañā Rām had very different interests. He is said to have spent his time in hunting and fishing rather than in the serious business of ruling the country. It was thus that Tabeng Shwethī, the king of the small state of Taungu, found his opportunity, and after repeated attempts he at length in 1540 succeeded in taking Pegu and deposing its king. He assumed the style of supreme king in Pegu, and looked around him to bring the neighbouring states into subjection. It was he who made the first

great Peguan invasion into Siam. He seems to have sought in every way to conciliate the Mon people, and is even said to have conformed to the Mon custom of cutting the hair so as to become one of them.

The foster brother and general of Tabeng Shwethi, Bureng Naung, on succeeding to the throne of Pegu, after a short interval of native Mon rule, sought to carry out the same propaganda of conquest, and was so far successful as to become nominal overlord of Burma, Siam, and the Lao and Shan states. It was during these wars of conquest that the Mon people began to feel restive under the intolerable burden which constant military duty imposed upon them. Nanda Bureng, the son and successor of Bureng Naung, began his reign with considerable internal trouble. Siam had to show her obligations to the suzerain power, and the famous Pra Naret went over to Pegu with an army and was asked to assist in the military operations. Finding that the time was opportune, he threw off allegiance to the Peguan monarch and attacked and devastated the eastern provinces. On his first revolt he is said by Phayre to have carried a number of the inhabitants of Martaban into Siam, apparently as prisoners of war for the Uparaja was sent after him. This is referred to in the Siamese History, though I have not found it mentioned in the Mon records. Some years later when, following on an unsuccessful attack on Ayuthia by the Burmese, he made an attempt on Pegu, but without success, he was followed on his return by a great number of Mons, monks and laymen from Martaban. This is probably the first real immigration of Mons in any number into Siam. Phayre mentions this incident, and it seems to have confirmation by Siamese writers.

According to Siamese history there was an immigration of Mons in considerable numbers in the year 1660. I find not much indication of it elsewhere. One of the Mon books speaks of a disarmament of the Mons of Martaban by order of the king of Ava about this time. Phayre, speaking of the same occasion, remarks that the Siamese had many adherents in Martaban and tells of a Mon rising. These events took place in the reign of Pra Narai, and just after the invasion of Ava by the Chinese in 1658.

It is to be noticed that the Mons voluntarily sought refuge in Siam. There is no doubt that at different times some were brought over as prisoners of war. The Burney Papers show that, as late as the British occupation of Tennasserim, some to the number of a thousand,

most of whom were afterwards sent back, were thus brought over. In the great majority of cases the Mons came over of their own free will. About the year 1633 a letter was prepared to be sent to the king of Siam by the Mons of Martaban, in which it was declared that "the Lord of the golden prasāda, the righteous king of Ayuthia, was the haven of the Mon race, and on every occasion saved the lives of the Mon people."

It is worthy of note, too, that these immigrations of Mons into Siamese territory coincided with the active intercourse between the two countries. We have seen that it was in the time of the active and valiant Pra Naret that the Mons began first to come over. In the lull which followed the death of Pra Naret, when the rulers of both countries were too busy at home to give any attention to each other, we see no signs of movement of the Mons toward Siam. But again in the active times of Pra Narai we find the Mons reasserting themselves. One of the dangers to the Burmese monarchs in the invasions from Siam was the fact that the Mons, who were the nearest neighbours to the Siamese, were always ready to be on friendly terms with the invaders. It was so in the days of Pra Naret and it was so again when Pra Narai engaged in hostilities. In one of the campaigns in the time of the latter monarch, Mon troops from Ayuthia formed the vanguard of the Siamese army and were the first to engage with the Burmese advance.

One would almost expect to find a great influx of Mons into Siam on the occasion of the taking of Pegu by Alaungphra in 1757, but there seems no trace of any general flight at that time. The fact is that the Mons would be so paralysed by the slaughter which ensued that there could not be sufficient strength left for any general movement. The Mon Chronicler tells of many monks who had gathered about Pegu being put to death, and of others who crossed to Martaban and fled thence to Chiengmai. It will be remembered, too, that the Mon general took refuge in the same territory.

The next general flight of Mons into Siam apparently took place in 1774, in the reign of Sinbyushin, a few years after the fall of Ayuthia. Siam had again asserted itself under Paya Tak with a new capital at Bangkok. Sinbyushin was determined to recover what he considered lost ground. An army was sent to operate in the north. The governor of Martaban had collected a force chiefly of Mons to enter Siam by way of Tavoy. When a few days out the Mon troops mutinied. The

Burmese governor returned to Martaban with a guard of his own countrymen, but was soon followed by the Mons with Bañā Cīn at their head. He fled to Rangoon and was pursued thither. The near approach of a Burmese army only hindered the Mons from taking him in his own stronghold. The Mons retired to Martaban and a month later were obliged in their turn to flee with their wives and families. Some fled to Siam. Others remaining in the forest were taken by the Burmese, and suffered untold hardships. Paya Maha Yotha, the general in command of the Siamese force sent over toward the Burma frontier to watch events during the first British-Burmese war, must have come over at this time or very shortly after. He told Captain Burney, when the latter was paying him a visit, that he had come over from Burma when only thirteen years of age. His father had been governor of Martaban under the Pegu dynasty. He was surrounded by much more military state, Captain Burney says, than any chief he had yet seen. Captain Burney was much impressed with the old general.

In 1814 again there was another rebellion of the Mons in Martaban, when a great number sought refuge in Siam. They were looked upon as desirable immigrants, and on this as on the previous occasion responsible parties were sent out from the capital to meet the fugitives and conduct them to suitable places where land was given and necessities for their immediate needs amply provided. There is a village and monastery up the Menam in the Pathomthani district which go by the name of the Granary, and it is said that paddy was stored there for the use of the Mons. It is of interest to note that Prince Pra Chom Klao, who afterwards became King as the well known Maha Mongkut, then a mere boy, was appointed by the king to meet the Mons of this last immigration, at Kanchanaburi, and bring them to Bangkok. The King ordered three royal warboats and lictors to accompany him as a guard of honour.

This evident desire to get away from their Burmese rulers and seek shelter with a friendly nation seems to give support to the common impression that the Burmese did all in their power to stamp out Mon nationality. One or two things are, however, to be kept in mind which shed a somewhat different light on the matter. The kings of Burmese race all more or less endeavoured to gain the confidence and sympathy of the Mons by various public acts. Tabeng Shwethi, as has been mentioned, conformed to the Mon custom of cutting the hair and so, in the words of the Mon history, became a Mon. Up till the

time of Alaungphra they mostly established themselves at Pegu, the old Mon capital. They were generally assiduous in their attention to the great Mon shrines, the Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon and the Shwemadaw at Pegu. We must remember that they ruled the Mons as a conquered people and administered the affairs of the country according to their own lights. The Mons, too, were always plotting, as these various flights into Siam very well show. It was always after a rebellion of some kind that they took to flight and left the country for good.

There is, however, another aspect which is brought before us in the Mon literature of the time. Amongst the books printed at Paklat within recent years there are several by an author who was writing through some of the most troublous times in Pegu, that is to say, from the time that Tha Aung, the Burmese Governor of Pegu, throwing off allegiance to Ava, assumed the position of king, right on till the reign of Singu Min, the grandson of Alaungphra and fourth king of that dynasty. He had thus seen the Mon people rise against the tyrannical and treacherous Tha Aung, the consequent establishment and decline of native government in Pegu, and the conquest of Pegu by Alaungphra, which has left the Mons a people without a country. The author in question is known as the monk of Aswo' and is credited with the authorship of a great many of the Mon books. One of the books printed at Paklat is a translation into Mon, by this author, of a very popular Burmese poetical work entitled Parami Khan extolling the efforts of Buddha through many existences in attaining enlightenment. The translator tells in his introduction how a monk at Sagaing in the province of Ava, where authors were numerous, had proposed to translate the work into Mon, but finding the difficulties greater than he expected he gave up the attempt, and the Burmese work was sent for translation to the monk of Aswo' at Pegu. This interest in Mon readers does not very well agree with the commonly received notion that the Burmese were doing all they could to stamp out Mon nationality and to suppress the Mon language. 'Talaing,' the name by which the Mons are known in Burma, has been explained to mean "the down-trodden." This supposed degrading epithet was fathered on Alaungphra, but it turns out that its ancient representative 'Tanlaing' was cut in stone more than six centuries before Alaungphra was born. This warrior king gets the credit of having destroyed the Mon books and certainly he made a clean sweep of the Mons of Pegu, not even the monks being spared.

The monk of Aswo' was of a party who left the city of Pegu on the Mons rising against the Burmese governor Tha Aung in 1740, seventeen years before the surrender to Alaungphra. Their books had been left behind them in the hurry to get away, and when the community was established in a jungle village the monk had to set to work and write books so as to be able to teach the boys their letters. The government archaeologists in later days found Mon MSS. rotting in caves, and even being used as fuel by the Karens. No doubt the Mons themselves saw the danger of leaving the books exposed to the vandalism of the Burmese. Many books were brought over into Siam at different times, and copies of works wanted by scholars have to be sought for here.

The literary activity of the monk of Aswo' would seem to disprove any idea of sustained effort at wholesale destruction of the books by the Burmese. He is the author who now has the widest reputation amongst the Mons of both Burma and Siam. It is true that he may have been writing for years in the comparative quiet of his monastery, but here at least in this call to translate a Burmese work is an appeal from Ava itself to help in adding to the literary treasures of the Mons. The date of the work is just two years later than the flight of Mons into Siam in the reign of Sinbyushin. This Burmese King gave great encouragement to literature, and a number of Burmese works were written during his reign.

There were three routes by which the fugitives travelled on their way to refuge in Siam. According to the Siamese books the Siamese authorities met them at Muang Tak, the Raheng of the present day, in the north, Kanchanaburi or Kanburi in the south, and Utaithani between these two. To reach these three places it was necessary for them to traverse the routes followed by the Peguan and Burmese armies when they invaded Siam. And just as the armies usually marched from Martaban, so these great companies of fugitive Mons usually massed at that rallying place. At the present day travellers following the northern route proceed by water to the neighbourhood of Kawkareik, and thence by land through Kawkareik and Myawaddy on the Burmese side and Mesut the Siamese frontier station to Raheng. No doubt the old route was similar, though it is not particularly indicated. This route would possibly present no great difficulties to the fugitives. Kanburi can be reached by two ways, either starting up the Attaran, or going along the coast to Tavoy. By the former route boats can be used almost to the Siamese

frontier. Mr. Leal, the interpreter with Captain Burney's mission in 1825-26, followed this route in returning from Martaban to Bangkok. It is interesting to note, with our present subject before us, that he was accompanied by twenty Mons and three Burmans. He embarked in boats and reached the frontier station, where Siamese troops were posted, in nine days. Ten hours walking from there brought him to the three pagodas, the Kyäk-pi of the Mons and Prachedi sam-ong of the Siamese. The same day he reached Songkhla. The following day he was at Loomchang, where there was a Siamese guard of one hundred men, mostly natives of Pegu, and there he was able to procure boats for the journey down the Meklawng. It took him four days to reach Kanburi. It will thus be seen that it was possible for the fugitive Mons to reach Kanburi in anything over two weeks after leaving Martaban. With old people and young children in their company, however, it would not always be convenient to force the marches as an unencumbered party could. Then the commissariat would be somewhat of a difficulty. According to traditions amongst the Mons in Burma, people were always more or less prepared for such contingencies. When trouble was imminent, quantities of rice were boiled and dried in the sun and thus they had a supply of ready cooked food in a form convenient for carrying.

Tabeng Shwethi made the first great historic invasion of Siam from Pegu by this route. He assembled his immense army of over one hundred thousand men at Martaban and crossed the Salwin to Moulmein. The Governor of Martaban is said to have made a bridge of boats over which a horse could be ridden at the gallop. Phayre says that he marched in an easterly direction, and reached the Menam above the capital. According to the Mon history, however, he went up the Attaran, crossed by the three pagodas, and down the Meklawng to Kanburi. He was met by the Siamese on the way to the capital. This may have been at Suphanburi, which Mr. Graham aptly terms "that cockpit of the wars with the Burmese." Later the more successful Bureng Naung also followed this route, but in both cases the return was made up the Menam and over by Kampengpet and Raheng. It is somewhat striking that what seems to have been the last of these historic invasions from Burma was made over the same Attaran route, by the three pagodas and Kanburi. Bodawphra or Padôn Min, the Padung of the Siamese books, assembled his grand army at Martaban and marched on Bangkok by the Attaran route. The

Siamese capital had been transferred from the western bank of the river "for greater security against Burmese attack," Phayre says. Bodawphra, however, met with least success of all these expeditions. He was defeated at every point, and fled for his life back to Martaban.

The route along the coast was the one chosen by Alaungphra when he led a Burmese army into Siam in person. Having to subdue Mergui and Tenasserim as well as Tavoy he had to go much further south than would be necessary for anyone going direct to Kanburi in making for the Siamese capital. It does not appear whether the fugitive Mons would use the Tavoy route or not. From Ye, which was formerly a walled town of some importance, midway between Moulmein and Tavoy, there was a road to the three pagodas, and it would not be necessary for Mons going from that quarter to go round by Tavoy to reach Siamese territory. Two sepoys carrying Captain Burney's dispatches from Bangkok went via Kanburi leaving the river at Saiyok and reaching Tavoy in eight days.

There is still the Utaithani route to account for, though I have not been able to find anything which would indicate the exact route. It is mentioned, however, as one of the places where the Siamese authorities met the Mons and conducted them to lands reserved for them.

We have seen that there were at least three great immigrations of Mons into Siam, four according to Siamese history. The first two occasions, if we reckon only three, are mentioned in both Burmese and Siamese histories, and Phayre, following the Burmese, also mentions both. Of the last occasion I have seen no mention in the history of Burma, but on the Siamese side there is abundant recognition of the event. It is mentioned both in the Biography of the first four kings of the present dynasty and in a fragment of Mon history written in Siam, which recently came to my notice. The Mons themselves in their oral tradition say distinctly that their fathers came over from Burma at three different times. They adopt a Siamese word which is used of the march of an army and say that they came over in *pi yok* (three yok). They further distinguish between the descendants of Mons who came over on the different occasions. They speak of the old Mons, that is the Mons whose fathers came over first, and new Mons, that is the descendants of the newer comers, and a third class are called the real Mons, the Mons of Pegu. These differences are all more or less distinguishable in their speech,

the new Mons often being nearer some of the present day usages in Burma. Idioms in Burma have often been influenced by contact with the Burmese, just as in Siam there has been a like influence through contact with the Siamese. There is, for instance, a verbal affix used with the first person plural which the Burmese Mons use in common with the Burmese, whilst the old Mons of Siam have no trace of it. The new Mons, on the other hand, seem to use it. I was in Ayuthia not long ago and whilst standing by a stall I heard one little boy say to another, *ā sū*, "let us be going." This is the form in question, and on reflection I wondered if by any chance they had heard me use the phrase; but there is a new Mon village a little way below Ayuthia, and they may have come from it. Another Burmese form one hears in the same village is the Burmese *ama* (elder sister), when women are speaking to elder women, their elder sisters.

There are various dialectical differences all over the Mon country in Burma. Beginning with Ye in the southern part of the Amherst district and travelling up to Moulmein you find various differences and little changes all the way. Up river from Moulmein there is a marked difference. Crossing over to Martaban and going westward you find another change until towards Pegu you get what the Siamese Mons call the pure Mon. Strangely enough you find all this variety of dialect in Siam. This persistency of dialectical variations is quite remarkable. I have met old people in Moulmein whose parents had come over from Pegu at the beginning of the British occupation and whose dialect is still that of Pegu. The differences are not so great as to form any barrier to communication between persons of different localities. The differences are mostly in vowel sounds. In certain cases 'k' final changes to 't'; some give double initial consonants their full value, whereas others substitute for the first element 'a' in the case of unaspirated consonants and 'h' for the aspirates; and sometimes, where there are synonymous words, one is used in one district and another in another district. There is of course no difference in the written language, though it is read according to local values of the vowels and consonants. The combination p-u-t for example varies from the Pegu pronunciation 'put', 'paut' or 'pawt' in the south, to 'peit' up river from Moulmein.

I have already pointed out that on the two later occasions at any rate these immigrant Mons were met at the border towns by the Siamese authorities and conducted to suitable places. I have seen

no indication as to the location of the first Mons who came over, and it is possible that they were allowed to settle down according to inclination. Even then when Ayuthia was still the capital they must have been here in great numbers. An old French writer, Dr. Frankfurter tells me, was so impressed with their numbers that he has stated that half the population were Mons. On the two later occasions they were placed where we now find them in greatest numbers, that is, speaking generally, on the river north of Bangkok in the neighbourhoods of Pakret and Samkok, in the Muangs of Nontaburi and Pathomthani.

When the town and fortifications were built at Paklat, a Mon governor was appointed with Mon followers drawn from Pathomthani. There is abundant evidence of the Mon there still. You see it in the dress of the women, and you hear it in the language spoken. On the last occasion of a visit to Paklat we met a number of small boats on the river with companies of people who were distinctly Mon, and when we got into the creek Mon was constantly spoken on the boats passing out and in. Foot passengers too were using Mon and when a company of prisoners passed on their way to work, two, at least, were addressed and made answer in Mon. When Captain Burney came to the country in the end of 1825, he found here what he terms a large village, called Muang Mai, with 10,000 inhabitants, mostly Peguans, "who," he adds, "have emigrated from the Burmese dominions." Captain Burney took a lively interest in all who came from Burma.

From Paklat the Mons have spread out through the canals to the Tachin and even to the Meklawng rivers. There are two villages of Mons too on the Petchaburi river, but whether they are from Paklat or not I cannot say. The Mons migrate a good deal, and seem always as far as possible to settle down in communities of their own. They are found almost all over the country. On the Mahachai canal, on the Tachin river, and on the Sip Sam Kot canal a great many of them trace their connection with Paklat. It may be noted here that Leal, the interpreter with Captain Burney's mission, said that there were 30,000 Peguans in the districts between the mouths of the Meklawng and Menam rivers. Such figures are of value only in showing that the Mons were much in evidence.

Up the Meklawng again there is a cluster of Mon villages above Ratburi. Whether the Mons there originally came down river, where they may have settled on coming in from Burma, is difficult

to determine. Leal, the interpreter, reported finding a town of 5000 inhabitants, mostly Peguans, just above Kanburi. When they came first to their present location, it was all forest land, they say. It is now open cultivated plain. They may have moved down for the sake of the land. On the other hand some say that they went over from Bangkok. They seem to be mostly old Mons there, though I have been told that there are also some new Mons. It seems that in Karen monasteries further up the Meklawng Mon is the language used for literary purposes, and young Karens wishing to become Buddhist priests come down to the Mon bishop below Banpong to be ordained.

There is a large community of Mons just above the town of Lophburi, which I have personally visited. Some of the women we found had never seen a white woman before, and my wife, who was with me, was an object of great interest to them. Further up, but on the western side of the river, there is another large community about Utaithani, which was one of the places where the Mons assembled on coming over. There are many Mons in the Korat neighbourhood too, and in the Northern Lao provinces, though in both cases they are said to be fast becoming Laos. There are numbers also on the eastern plains.

The Mons are in the main agriculturists, and we find them with lands contiguous to their villages, where they grow paddy and other crops, when at all possible. The Mons on the western or Meklawng river are almost altogether engaged in this occupation, except in the two isolated villages near the sea mouth where they trade in firewood and leaf thatch. On the Tachin the Mons engage in the thatch and firewood trades, but cultivate rice where they can. On the Menam there is a good deal of agriculture. Exceptions to this are the potteries at Pakret, the brickfields of Phathom, and the traders or carriers on the waterways of the country. There are Mon divers diving for sand just above Pakret. At Phrapatom there is a small community representing the Mon families who went there to make brick for the rebuilding of the pagoda. The pottery and brick traders connect the Mons of Siam with their ancestry in Martaban and Pegu. Martaban or Pegu jars were a commodity of trade in the east in the days of the old voyagers, and scholars are now busy unravelling the mysteries of Mon made bricks and tiles with Mon inscriptions found about the shrines of Pagan.

Along the canals in the maritime districts and at the mouths of the Tachin and Meklawng rivers a great many Mons are engaged in the making of the attap thatch and the cutting of firewood. Others again carry these commodities about the country. The Mon boats are seen in the rivers and canals all over Lower Siam. But even in the neighbourhood of these swampy lands where nothing but firewood and attap is possible, the people are always on the look out for a bit of land to grow paddy. There is only one exception that I know of to this desire for rice growing land, and that is an isolated village just below Ayuthia. At one time they had lands, they say, but they had so much trouble with grain and cattle thieves that they sold their land retaining only the village site and now they are all engaged in trading.

Many, of course, leave their village to enter government service, and some rise to trusted positions. In most villages you will hear about some son of the people who is a Smin, an official of some standing, either in the city or in the provinces.

From all this it will appear that the Mons have not only found for themselves a congenial home in Siam, but that they form a useful part of the community.

NOTE.

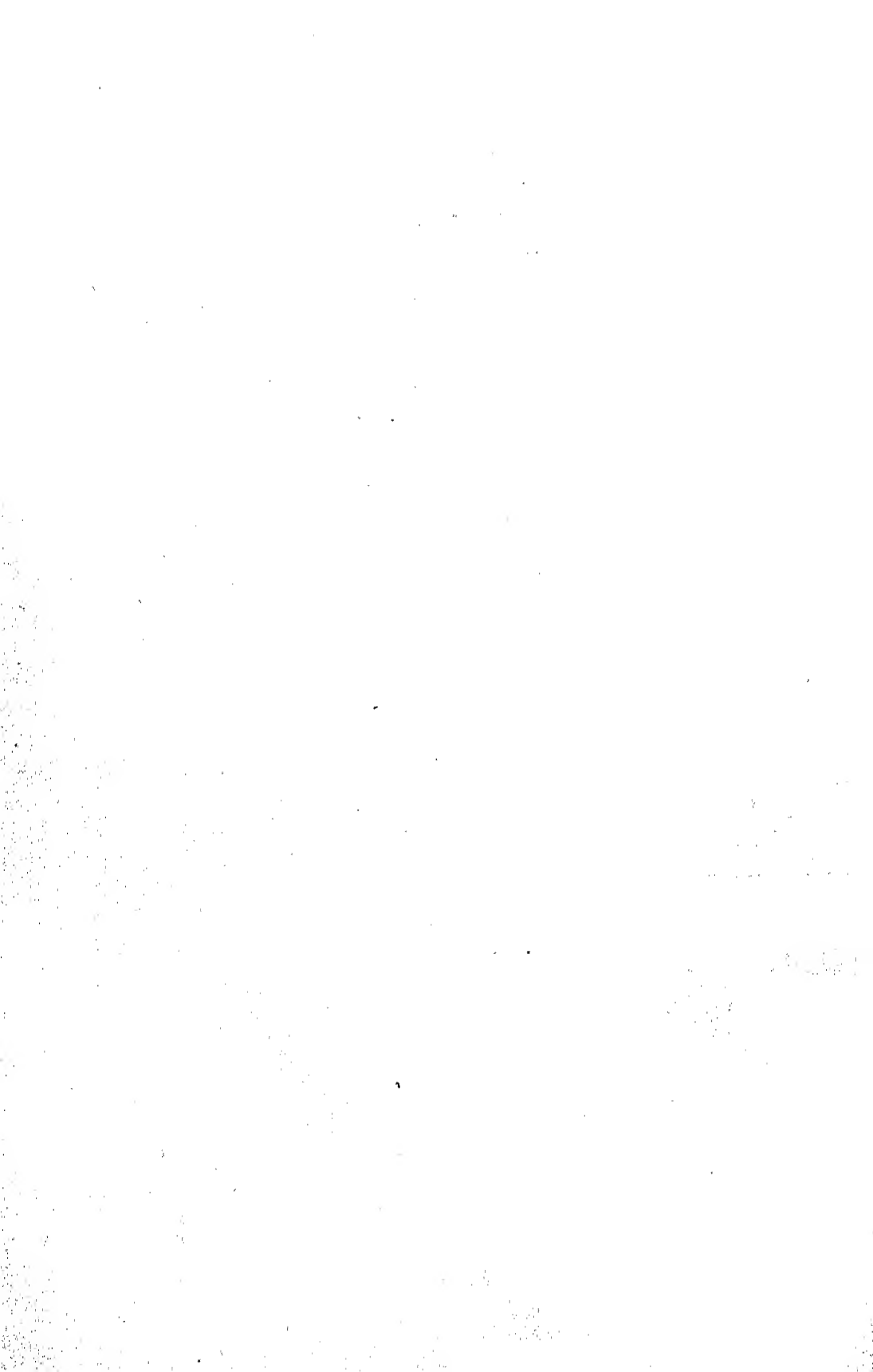
Mr. A. J. Irwin, who was prevented from being present when the paper was read, writes as follows:—

“I note that he [the writer of the paper] said that it is unknown where the old Mōhns, who came here in the time of King Naret, were located.

“The late director of the Survey Department, Col. Bhra Bhuwanarth Narubal (now Bhaya Pichai Chānridh, commanding at Paknampoh), who is a descendant of those Mōhns, informed me that they came to Siam under the command of two of their chiefs, who were afterwards made Bhayas, and that King Naret, who distrusted them very much at first, gave them land and settled them in the neighbourhood of what is now Klong Mōhn.”

This interesting piece of information is in keeping with what one hears of the Mons of that quarter of Bangkok. On the showing of Luang Lokadip, of the National Library, himself a Mon, the term Old Mons is properly applied to Mons who are the descendants of those who came over when Ayuthia was still the capital, and the term New Mons to those and their descendants who came over when the capital was removed to Bangkok.

R. H.



Ordinary General meeting, 17th July, 1913.

An ordinary general meeting of members of the Society took place at the Bangkok United Club, on Thursday, 17th July, 1913, to hear a paper by Mr. R. Halliday on the "Immigration of the Mons into Siam." The President, Dr. O. Frankfurter, was in the chair.

Introducing the lecturer, the President said that during a stay of many years both in Burma and Siam Mr. Halliday had made a special study of that interesting people the Mons, and their manners, customs and history. He had been intrusted by the British-Burma Government with the duty of writing a monograph on the people, which would soon be published and which would materially assist in the understanding of a people in which Siam was also highly interested. They knew from history that from very olden times a constant intercourse took place between Siam and Pegu, and also of a warlike nature.

Mr. Halliday then read his paper.

In opening a brief discussion, Mr. Beckett remarked that the paper had been very interesting, especially as very few had any extensive knowledge of the subject. He considered the most interesting point brought out by Mr. Halliday was that there were three distinct immigrations of Mons into Siam, and that these gave rise to three distinct classes of Mons. He did not quite follow Mr. Halliday's remarks with regard to the Mons and the Burmesè. He had always understood that the Burmese wished to drive out the Mons, but from what Mr. Halliday said it seemed that there was rather a friendly feeling between them. One thing Mr. Halliday had not touched upon was the origin of Mon writing. Perhaps it was rather too abstruse a subject, but he would be glad to hear something of the origin of the writing and its general characteristics. He also did not quite follow why the Mons should have followed the route to the Three Pagodas on coming from Burma into Siam, and why they should go so far north. Those present were very grateful to Mr. Halliday for his paper. He proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Halliday for his most interesting paper, and to him and Mrs. Halliday for their presence.

In reply to the points raised by Mr. Beckett, Mr. Halliday first said that the Mon language was classed with Cambodian. The alphabet was believed by certain scholars to be of Southern Indian origin. As to the route by which the Mons came, it seemed to have been a direction generally followed, and some of the Burmese invasions were by that route. As to the attitude of the Burmese towards the Mons, the latter were never driven out, and when they went the Burmese followed to bring them back. At the same time, of course, they wanted to rule the Mons. When the Siamese went over from this side the Mons usually favoured the Siamese.

In reply to Mr. Sewell, Mr. Halliday said it was true that Captain Burney wished the Siamese to co-operate with the British Army in a certain way against the Burmese. After the British were in occupation of that part of Burma, the Siamese went over and brought about a thousand prisoners from Moulmein. Captain Burney, as representing the British Government, asked that they be sent back, and eventually this was done.

Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis asked whether the people in the Menam Valley were not Mon before the Siamese came from the North.

Mr. Halliday said this was not so. The people who inhabited this country in bygone days were at any rate linguistically similar to the Mons, but there was a great difference between the Cambodian language and the present day Mon language. The Mons he had been speaking of came over from Burma, a long time after the Siamese had come into this part of the country. Two of these immigrations took place after Bangkok had become the capital.

The Chairman conveyed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Halliday, and the proceedings terminated.

The Journal.

At date, September 1913, the complete set of the Journal of this Society comprises the following :—

Vol.	I—Parts	1 and 2,	bound together
	II— „	1 and 2,	issued separately
	III— „	1 and 2,	„ „
	IV— „	1, 2 and 3,	„ „
	V— „	1, 2, 3 and 4,	„ „
	VI— „	1, 2 and 3,	„ „
	VII— „	1, 2 and 3,	„ „
	VIII— „	1, 2 and 3,	„ „
	IX— „	1, 2, 3 and 4,	„ „
	X— „	1, 2 and 3,	„ „

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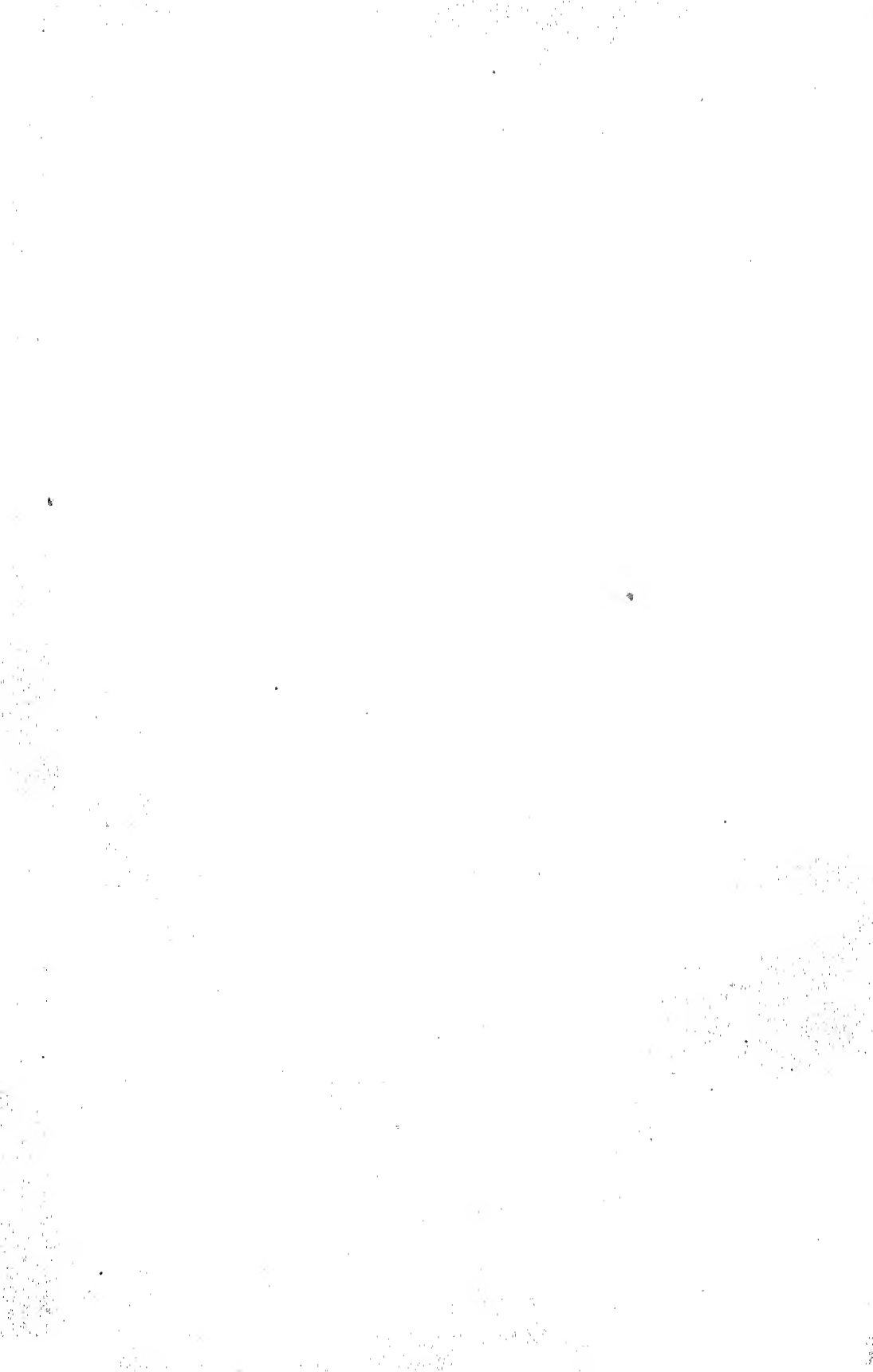
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THE SIAM SOCIETY.

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For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science
and Literature in relation to Siam, and neighbouring
countries.

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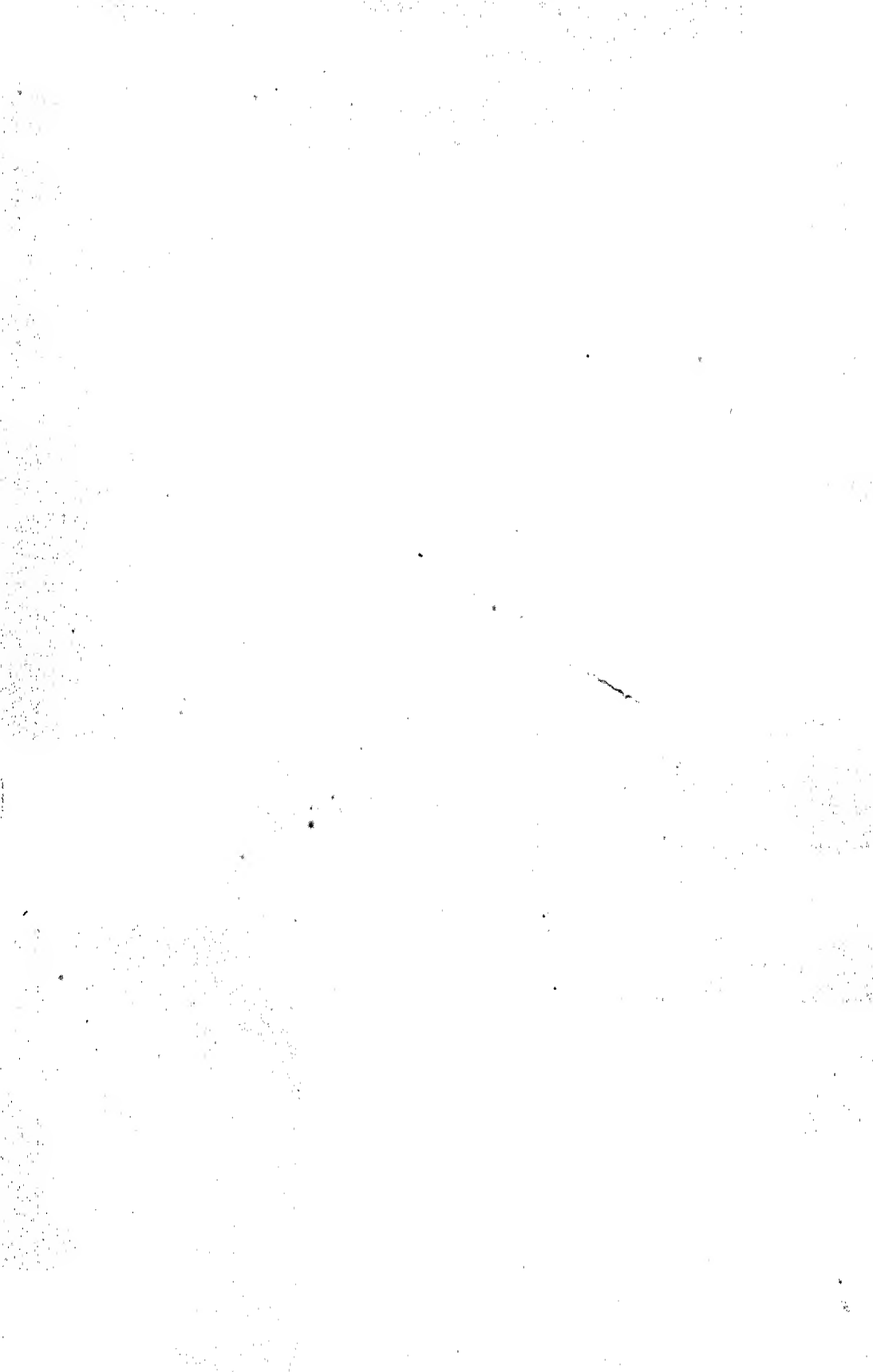
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PROPOSED SYSTEM FOR THE TRANSLITERATION OF SIAMESE WORDS INTO ROMAN CHARACTERS

The existence of a large proportion of words of Sanskrit or Pali origin in the Siamese language complicates the task, which has been entrusted to us by the Council of the Siam Society, of formulating recommendations towards the adoption of a system for the transliteration of Siamese words into Roman characters.

Generally speaking, we recommend that the so-called "Hunterian" system of transliteration from the Devanagari should be adopted for the denotation in Roman characters of Sanskrit or Pali words which occur in Siamese. We need hardly point out that this system is in almost universal use among Oriental scholars, and that by means of it Sanskrit or Pali words can be identified, whether appearing in their Siamese, Burmese or other forms. It has, moreover, become the custom in this country to transliterate proper names of Sanskrit or Pali origin in accordance with the Hunterian system, and, as the spelling of proper names is notoriously a matter which concerns chiefly the individuals who bear them, we should consider as ill-advised any proposal tending to alter the method which has already been adopted in these cases.

It is, however, well known that the spelling of words of Sanskrit or Pali origin in Siamese by no means corresponds with their current pronunciation. This circumstance leads us to recommend that the following two classes of words, although derived from Sanskrit or Pali, should not be transliterated according to the Hunterian system, but rather by the method of phonetic transliteration which, as will be seen, we propose for the denotation of ordinary Siamese words:—

(1.) Words from the Sanskrit or Pali which have, by familiar use, become to all practical intents part and parcel of the Siamese language, and which, despite their orthography or polysyllabic form, have ceased to bear the aspect of foreign vocables. Such words as

อัฐ, พระ, กณ, จักร, ภรรยา are constantly used without any sense of their having been derived from another language, and it would seem pedantic to transliterate them by a different method from that applied in the case of ordinary Siamese words. It is scarcely feasible to draw up an exhaustive list of words coming under this category, but we would submit that the matter is one which may be left to discretion and common-sense.

(2.) Local geographical names. Some of these are of Sanskrit or Pali, and some of Siamese, origin. It would, in our opinion, be regrettable to publish a map of Siam in which geographical names derived from the Sanskrit or Pali were transliterated according to the Hunterian system, whilst those of Siamese origin were transliterated according to some other system. The employment of two different systems in one and the same map would inevitably confuse the geographical student who is unacquainted with Siamese. The use of a phonetic system for transliterating geographical names has, moreover, been advocated by the various geographical societies. We would not, however, alter the forms "Bangkok," for " บางกอก," and "Ayuthia," for " อโยธยา," which would appear to have acquired international sanction.

I. Words of Sanskrit or Pali origin occurring in Siamese.

For expressing the sounds of the Thai family of languages, including Siamese, alphabets derived from Indian alphabets are used. With a view to adapting these Indian alphabets to the use of a non-Aryan language, certain modifications had to be made. The Siamese language knows only the following sounds, which must be presented by distinct signs, namely, K P T Ch and their aspirates, and B D F H L M N R S W Y Ng; whilst the original Indian alphabet from which the Siamese derived their alphabet consisted of the following letters :—

VOWELS.

ចា ចា ចិ ចី ចុ ចួ ពរិ ពារិ ភិ ភា
 ឆេ ឆៃ ឆៃ ឆោ ឆា ឆា ឆា ឆា

CONSONANTS.

Gutturals: ᳵ k ᳶ kh ᳷ g ᳸ gh ᳹ ṅ

Palatals: ɟ c ɟʰ ch ʃ j ɟʃh tɕ ɕ

Linguals: ɟ t ʃ ʈh ʈd ɳd ɳh ɳn

Dentals: n t n th n d t dh w n

Labials: ʋ p ɸ ph w b ŋ bh ɱ m

Semivowels : palatal ય y Sibilants : palatal ળ ᳵ

Semivowels: lingual τ r Sibilants: lingual Ψ sh

Semivowels: dental ɳ l Sibilants: dental ʃ s

Semivowels: labial ɱ v Aspiration ʰh ʷl

Sanskrit and Pali words largely contributed to the stock of words in Siamese and the words derived from them may still be traced by their orthography.

This is especially the case with titles, names of Palaces, the technical terms of Buddhist and Brahmanical religion or philosophy and, to a more limited extent, with geographical names.

Surnames and family names do not at present exist in Siamese and their place may be said to have been taken by official titles. These titles are mostly derived from Sanskrit and Pali words and their foreign origin is felt. As a proof of that, we may state that in transliterating them, the holder of a title, if he wants to romanize it, follows a method different from that which he uses for common words, and we may from such attempted transliteration of Sanskrit and Pali words trace the inconsistencies prevailing in romanizing. For instance, **deva**, Pali **deva**, is written as "dhev" instead of "t'ēp"; **विष्णु**, Vishnu, as "Bhishnu"; and further examples readily occur in looking over newspapers and reports in which titles are used in a romanized form of Siamese.

In creating new titles, recourse is even now principally had to Sanskrit and Pali. There is no difficulty in finding their meaning in a Sanskrit or Pali dictionary, whilst some difficulty may be found in tracing their origin in the dictionaries of the Siamese language.

In pronouncing words of Sanskrit or Pali origin in Siamese, it should be remembered that

1. Siamese discards as much as possible compound consonants, and, with a view of avoiding them, it pronounces an indistinct vowel between them, called *svarabhakti* or *ardhamatta*.

2. Siamese only uses in pronunciation as finals, vowels, nasal vowels, nasals and sounds expressed by the letters: k, p, t. Consequently, the inherent short vowel, 'a,' as a final after consonants, may be omitted in transcription, and, in words of more than one syllable, the rule as to finals holds good for every syllable.

II. Proposed system for the phonetic transliteration of Siamese words.

It will be well to state the following general principles, which have guided us in our attempt to evolve a system for the romanization of Siamese words, other than those which are to be transliterated according to the Hunterian system.

In the first place, we would submit that such a system should, as far as possible, be phonetic. The transliteration of Siamese words into Roman characters is, we take it, intended primarily for those who are unacquainted with the Siamese language, or, at least, with the Siamese alphabet. For such persons, a system based on orthographical principles can only be misleading. To represent the word **กอล**, for example, by the symbols "kol" may satisfy the historical sense of those who are already familiar with the Siamese script and spelling. These individuals, however, *ipso facto* do not need the help of transliteration in order to apprehend Siamese words. To persons who are not familiar with Siamese spelling, on the contrary, the symbols "kol" convey a false impression as to the pronunciation of the word **กอล**, which is sounded as "kon" and not as "kol." Similarly, no very useful purpose would be served by writing the word **เรว** as "rew," on the analogy of the word **วัน** (wan), in which the letter **ว** is denoted by w. **เรว** is sounded as "reo," and the form "rew," though having the merit of orthographical consistency, will, to the uninitiated, be scarcely intelligible.

In the second place, the proposed system of phonetic transliteration should, as far as possible, be international in character, that is to say, the Roman symbols adopted should, when practicable, be calculated to convey the same sounds to educated Europeans of whatever nationality. It is not a question of transliterating Siamese words as they would be written, for instance, by a German, or a Frenchman, or an Englishman. It may happen that a certain Siamese sound finds an approximate equivalent in only one of the more generally known European languages. In that event, such approximate equivalent would be adopted, provided that there were not other objections to doing so. In other cases, it may be impracticable to find any European equivalent for certain Siamese sounds.

In these instances, resort must be had to some more or less arbitrary symbol. In this connection, we would say that we have not been insensible, when selecting a symbol, to the claims which long usage may have established in favour of a particular Roman equivalent. We have also taken into consideration the methods of transliterating other Oriental languages which have been adopted in India, Cambodia and the Malay States.

In the third place, if confusion is to be avoided, the proposed system should be simple, and further, it should be logical and consistent with itself. Whenever feasible, a single Siamese sound should be represented by a single Roman equivalent, and a given symbol should represent invariably the same sound.

We would allude here to one difficulty, which His Majesty the King has indicated in His message to the Siam Society, namely, the fact that each person tends to represent sounds by symbols according to his own individual sense of hearing, and that the work of devising a phonetic system of transliteration is greatly hampered in consequence. Whilst realising that this difficulty is a serious one, we have endeavoured to overcome it. Whenever we have not been at first in entire agreement as to the nature of a Siamese sound, we have finally chosen a Roman symbol for that sound, only after such repeated and careful enunciation of it by an educated person of Siamese nationality as has enabled us to decide unanimously upon an equivalent.

We venture to recommend for adoption the following phonetic method for the romanization of ordinary Siamese words :—

PROPOSED METHOD FOR ROMANIZING SIAMESE WORDS.

PHONETIC TRANSLITERATION.

CONSONANTS.

Initial.	Final.	Initial.	Final.	Initial.	Final.
ก	k	ค	ch	ด	d
ข	k ^c	ฅ	ch ^c	ต	t
ง	k ^c	จ	ch ^c	จ	t ^c
ก	k ^c	ช	s	ท	t ^c
ค	k ^c	ฉ	ch ^c	ถ	t ^c
ข	k ^c	ญ	y	ณ	n
ง	ng				
ด	d	บ	b	ย	y
ต	t	ป	p	ร	r
ท	t ^c	พ	p ^c	ล	l
ท	t ^c	ฝ	f	ว	w
ท	t ^c	พ	p ^c	ศ, ษ, ฐ	s
น	n	ฟ	f	ษ	s
		ภ	p ^c	ห	h
		ม	m	ค	h
				ล	l
				น	n
				อ	Mute—employed
					to support a
					vowel sound, as
					in อก. See table
					of vowels.

DOUBLE CONSONANTS.

กข	kr	กค	kl	กด	kw
กข	k ^c r	กค	k ^c l	กด	k ^c w
กข	k ^c r	กค	k ^c l	กด	k ^c w
กข	tr				
กข	pr	กค	pl		
กข	p ^c r	กค	p ^c l		

VOWELS.

Inherent vowel.	a or o, sometimes ^v o. (according to its sound.)		
အ	a	အံ	am
ဇာ	ā	ဇံ	um
ဇာ	i	ဇာ	a or ah
ဇာ	ī	ဇာ	^v oh
ဇာ	ü	ဇာ	a ; final, an
ဇာ	ū	ဇာ	am
ဇာ	u	ဇာ	rū, ri
ဇာ	ū	ဇာ	rū, rī
ဇာ	e	ဇာ	lū
ဇာ	ē	ဇာ	lū
ဇာ	āi	ဇာ	h (denotes a stop- ped vowel.)
ဇာ	ai	ဇာ	i (final only.)
ဇာ	^v o	ဇာ	ūo or ūa (when followed by a con- sonant.)
ဇာ	ō	ဇာ	o (when final.)
ဇာ	ao	ဇာ	ūa
		ဇာ	iu

COMBINED VOWELS.

เกีย	kīa
เกีย(ก)	kīe(k)
เกียว	kīo
เกือ	kūi
เกือ	kūa
เกือ(ก)	kūe(k)
เกือ(ง)	kūa(ng)
เกือย	kūei
เกอ	kō
เกย	kōi
กวย	kūei

เกิน	kōn
------	-----

REMARKS.

Consonants.

က ; ခ ; ဂ ; ဃ . The initial forms of these letters are, in our opinion, best represented by the symbols k, ch, t and p, respectively. It should be clearly understood, however, that we refer to the unaspirated forms of such symbols, all four of which are unknown, for example, as initial consonants in the English and German languages.

The letter ခ would seem to approximate closely to the Italian c before e or i. This consonant is, moreover, represented in the Hunterian system of transliteration by the single letter c. The employment of c to represent the letter ခ is, however, open to objection for our purposes. To most Europeans c represents a k sound, whilst even to Italians it approximates to ခ only before the vowels e and i. The symbol ch, on the other hand, approximates somewhat in English to the sound of ခ ; further, the practice of denoting ခ by ch has the sanction of previous usage. Under the circumstances, we recommend, therefore, the continuance of this practice, despite the fact that, in establishing ch as the equivalent of ခ, we are representing a single Siamese by two Roman letters.

တ, တ', ဂ, ဂ, ဒ ; ဂ, တ, ဃ ; ဒ, ဖ, ဃ, ဂ, ဖ, တ ; ဃ, ဖ, ဂ.

The initial forms of these aspirated consonants have hitherto been represented usually by kh, ch, th, and ph, respectively. The symbol ph is open to the objection that it may be mistaken easily for the sound f. The symbol th is equally misleading, as it suggests the English sound th in such words as "thin" or "than," or in words which have been transliterated from the Burmese (e. g., "Thatón"). The symbol ch is unsatisfactory, inasmuch as it marks no differentiation between ခ and တ. We recommend the use of the "rough breathing" (*spiritus asper*), which is known to other phonetic systems, to indicate the aspiration in the initial forms of the letters ဂ, တ, ဃ ; ဒ, ဖ, ဃ, ဂ, ဖ, တ ; ဃ, ဖ, ဂ, and, for the sake of consistency, of the letters တ,

ṭ, ṇ, ṅ, ṁ, also. We thus arrive at the symbols k', ch', t' and p'.

His Majesty the King has suggested the employment of the symbol X to represent ṭ, and of the symbol Q to represent ṇ. The symbols thus suggested would prove both simple and convenient, but they cannot well find a place in a phonetic system of transliteration, inasmuch as other Roman letters exist which convey more or less approximately the sound of the characters ṭ and ṇ. Moreover, if ṭ is to be represented by X, then, for the sake of consistency, the characters ṇ and ṁ should be denoted by the same symbol. Similarly, if Q is to represent ṇ, then the characters ṭ, ṭ, ṇ, and ṁ should be denoted by Q also.

၁. The symbol ng as representing this sound has become so familiar by long usage that we deem it advisable to retain it.

၂. ṭ-final, does not exist as a consonant.

၃. The symbol w, as pronounced in English, conveys the sound of consonantal ṇ, and we recommend its adoption. Consonantal ṇ occurs whenever the letter ṇ is followed immediately by a vowel, that is to say, initially and also in the double consonants ṇṇ, ṭṇ and ṅṇ; e. g., ဂိ၌, wing; ကွ၌, kwak; ၵၵ်, k'wam; ကွၵ်, k'wām.

၄. We would not mark this letter when it is placed before a consonant to assist in indicating the tone of a syllable. Thus မြေ, လူလူ will appear simply as mai, lūang.

Note. A consonant appearing in the middle of a polysyllabic word may have a double value if it serves both as the final letter of the syllable which precedes it, and also as the initial letter of the syllable which follows it. Hence, ပြာဇာနိက should be written as prātsachāk; ပိတောက် as p'itsadān; ရာဇသတ် as rātsadon; စတုက as Ch'onlabot (but စတုရ် = Ch'onbūri). Words like မြေဗူ, ရာဇကု,

however, should be written P'ech'abūrī, rāch'akān, rather than P'etch'abūrī, rāch'akān, not only because the omission or insertion of the letter t makes no great difference to the pronunciation, but also because the denotation of ๓ without t in such words or ๓๓๓๓ has become consecrated by usage.

Vowels.

Where Siamese orthography distinguishes between the long and the short forms of a vowel sound, we would mark the long forms as such (ā, ē, ī, etc). Short forms should not be marked specially as such.

Inherent vowel. The pronunciation of the inherent vowel varies in Siamese; usually it is sounded as a or else as o, and should be so written. Sometimes it has the sound of ๑๑, when we would denote it by ^o (see below). Before ๓ at the end of a word the inherent vowel should always be represented by ^o, e. g., ๑๓๓, samut; ๑๓๓ bon; ๑๓๓, nakon.

๑; ๑๓; ๑; ๑; ๑; ๑; ๑; ๑. We recommend that these simple vowel sounds should be represented in accordance with the Italian vowel system (a; ā; i; ī; u; ū; e; ē; o; ō)

๑; ๑. These vowels approximate somewhat to u, as pronounced in French, or to ü in German. We should denote them by ū and ū, respectively.

๑. This is a difficult sound to denote. It would appear to have some affinity to an open e sound. Pallegoix denotes it by the symbol ă, the adoption of which we recommend.

๑, ๑. Note the spelling of such words as ๑๑, which we would write ch'ai. The diphthong ๑๑ will appear as ai.

๑๑. The denotation of this vowel forms admittedly the subject of much contention. The symbol aw, as pronounced in English, would give a good representation of the Siamese sound. Unfortunately, there is a serious objection to the employment of the symbol in question, inasmuch as the Roman letter w has already been utilised to represent the Siamese consonantal ๑. Regard being had to the principle laid down above that any proposed system of transliteration must be logical and consistent with itself, the employment of aw to represent ๑๑ can only lead to confusion. If the symbol aw be used to denote the vowel ๑๑, then the symbol awi must be used to denote the diphthong ๑๑ย. As His Majesty the King has pointed out, such a transliteration would be utterly misleading, since the letters awi should, logically, be pronounced a-wi. On the other hand, the sound ๑๑ would seem to partake of the nature of an open o vowel, and it would be best, in our opinion, to denote it by some form of that vowel. The symbol o has been utilised to represent the inherent vowel in Siamese; ๑ is suggested as the equivalent of ๑๑, and ๑ as the equivalent of ๑๑๑. The most satisfactory course would, perhaps, be to represent ๑๑ by ๑, a symbol which at once shows the open nature of the vowel. Pallegoix, however, utilises the accent ` to denote the descending (period) tone, and, as will be seen below, we have thought it well to recommend the adoption of Pallegoix' system for marking the intonation of words, when necessary for any special purpose. The symbol ๑ to represent ๑๑ might thus be confusing, as it could upon occasion denote either the sound ๑๑, or the inherent vowel with the descending intonation. Under the circumstances and in order to avoid the possibility of any such confusion, we suggest that ๑๑ should be denoted by the arbitrary symbol ๑̂. ๑๑ย would then appear as ๑̂ย, and no misapprehension, such as would follow on the adoption of the symbol awi, need arise.

๑๒. This sound may, in our opinion, be represented phonetically either by au or ao. We advise the adoption of the symbol ao, which has the sanction of usage and which is less likely than au to be mispronounced by Europeans of certain nationalities.

๐ may represent simply a short "a" sound, as in ๐ะยุทฺธยา or in the prefixes ๐ว, ๐ว, ๐ว. In such cases, we would denote it by a. At the end of a word, however, it represents the stopped form of the inherent vowel, when we would represent it by the symbol ah, e. g., ๐ว, ๐ว, which we would transliterate as p'rah, pah.

It will be of advantage to explain here our recommendation as to denoting the effect on a vowel of the sign ๐ in Siamese, which corresponds to the visarga in Sanskrit. This sign denotes, not necessarily a short, but a stopped, vowel and some special symbol must be invented to mark it. Such a symbol has been devised in the Hunterian system of transliterating Sanskrit words, where the effect of visarga on a vowel is indicated by writing h after it. We would urge the adoption of this symbol in the transliteration of Siamese. Words like โ๐, ๐๐, ๐๐ would thus be written tōh, tēh, lēh.

๐๐ represents the stopped form of ๐๐. We would write it ḥ.

๐๐. Initial, this sound should appear as a, as, for example, in ๐๐๐ (ak'ah); final, it should appear as an, as, for example, in ๐๐๐ ๐๐๐, ๐๐๐ (p'rahk'an, p'an).

๐ final is found as a vowel in conjunction with other vowels, and should then be represented by i, e. g., ๐๐๐, t'ai; ๐๐๐, k'ui; ๐๐๐, k'oi. See, however, the table of combined vowels.

๐ as a vowel may be followed immediately by a consonant, in which case we would denote it by ūo or ūa. When the following consonant is any other than ๐, the symbol ūo should be employed, e. g., ๐๐๐, p'ūok; ๐๐๐, k'ūot; ๐๐๐, rūop; ๐๐๐, būom; ๐๐๐, k'ūon; ๐๐๐, sūon. Followed by ๐, however, ๐ has rather the sound of ūa and should be so written, e. g., ๐๐๐, lūang.

As a vowel, ๐ may also appear as a final, when it should be written o, e. g., ๐๐๐, lō; ๐๐๐, āo; ๐๐๐, t'io.

Note, however, the sounds **อัว** (as in **บัว**, būa), **กวย** (kūei) and **อิว** (as in **กริว**, kriu).

เกีย, เกีย(ก). We would represent the sound **เกีย** as *kia*. When followed by any consonant, however, this diphthong resembles *ie* rather than *ia* and should be so written, *e. g.*, **เวียก**, *riek*; **เกียด**, *kliet*; **เปรียบ**, *priep*; **เห็ดยม**, *liem*; **เกวียน**, *kwien*; **เลี้ยง**, *lieng*.

เกือ, เกือ(ก), เกือ(ง). We would denote the sound **เกือ** as *kūa*. Followed by any consonant but **ง**, however, *ūa* becomes rather *üe* and should be so represented, *e. g.*, **เกือก**, *küek*; **เกียด**, *düet*; **เกือบ**, *küep*; **เห็ดยม**, *süem*; **เกือพ**, *lūen*. Followed by **ง**, this diphthong resembles *üa* in sound and we would denote it accordingly, *e. g.*, **เมื่อง**, *müang*.

เกอ, เกิน. The vowel sound in these combinations resembles the German *ö*, by which symbol we would represent it. Compare the vowel sound in English "hurt," French "peur."

The word **พระยา**. We recommend that this word, which occurs so often, should be transliterated as *P'ayā*, in accordance with its current pronunciation in Siamese.

Note. **ง** followed by a consonant; **เกีย, เกีย(ก); เกือ, เกือ(ก), เกือ(ง)**.

The second vowel of these diphthongs, as pronounced in Siamese, is an indistinct one. It is, however, perceptibly affected by the presence or absence of a consonant after it, or by the nature of the following consonant, if any. For this reason we have judged it well to differentiate, as recommended above, between *üo* and *üa*, between *ie* and *üe*, and between *üa* and *üe*. Whilst recognising that we may not be rendering accurately all the various changes of sound which the diphthongs in question may undergo, we think, nevertheless, that some such practical method of differentiation is advisable.

Tones.

We are in full accord with the opinion expressed by His Majesty the King that the tone value of Siamese sounds should be ignored when transliterating, and that "high" and "low" consonants of the same class should be denoted by the same Roman characters. Simplicity is one of the main objects in view, and to mark the tones must tend to complicate greatly any system of romanization which may be adopted. As His Majesty observes, the context should suffice to make clear the meaning of words, although no tone be indicated. Under exceptional circumstances, however, as, for instance, where some work of scholarship is being undertaken, it may be expedient, or even necessary, to indicate the intonation of Siamese words. In such a case, we would recommend the adoption of the convenient system for marking the Siamese tones which has been devised by Pallegoix. According to this system, the common or right tone is not marked, whilst the other tones are indicated as follows:—

Circumflex (depressed) tone by the mark \sim over the vowel.

Descending (period) tone by the mark $`$ over the vowel.

Ascending (question) tone by the mark $'$ over the vowel.

High tone by the mark $.$ under the vowel.

In conclusion, we would say that the system which we propose here has for its object, as His Majesty the King suggests, the romanizing of such Siamese words as have to be used in conjunction with some European language. We have not attempted to devise a scheme for writing the Siamese language wholly or exclusively in Roman characters. The Siamese alphabet provides the best means for denoting Siamese sounds, and any attempt at romanization must necessarily be imperfect. Where, however, romanization is called for, an important step in advance will have been taken, if the Siam Society can formulate some system which will succeed in obtaining general adoption.

O. FRANKFURTER.

P. PETITHUGUENIN.

J. CROSBY.

Examples of Geographical Names transliterated according
to the system here proposed.

มณฑล กรุงเทพฯ	Mont'on Krungt'ēp.
อำเภอ พระนคร	Amp'ō P'rahnāk'ōn.
อำเภอ ด้ามเพ็ญ	Amp'ō Sāmp'eng.
อำเภอ ดุสิต	Amp'ō Dusit.
อำเภอ บางรัก	Amp'ō Bāngrak.
อำเภอ ประทุมวัน	Amp'ō Prat'umawan.
อำเภอ บางกอกน้อย	Amp'ō Bāngkōk Nōi.
อำเภอ บางกอกใหญ่	Amp'ō Bāngkōk Yai.
อำเภอ บางลำภู	Amp'ō Bānglampū.
อำเภอ บางกระปิ	Amp'ō Bāngkrapī.
อำเภอ บางซื่อ	Amp'ō Bāngsī.
อำเภอ บางเขน	Amp'ō Bāngk'ēn.
อำเภอ บางขุนเทียน	Amp'ō Bāngk'unt'ien.
อำเภอราชบุรี	Amp'ō Rāch'abunnah.
อำเภอ ด่งขันธ์	Amp'ō Talingh'an.
อำเภอ ภาษีเจริญ	Amp'ō P'āsī Charōn.
อำเภอหนองแขม	Amp'ō Nōng K'ēm.
นนทบุรี หรือ เมืองนนท์	Nont'abūrī or Mūang Non.
ปากเกร็ด	Pākkret.
นครเขื่อนขันธ์	Nak'ōn K'ūenk'an.
พระโขนง	P'rahk'anōng.
สมุทรปราการ	Samut Prākān.
เกาะสีชัง	Kōh Sīch'ang.
กาญจนบุรี	T'anyabūrī.
เจียรตบ	Chīeradap.

ลพบุรี	Lopbūrī.
สระบุรี	Sarabūrī.
พระพุทธรบาท	P'ralip'utt'abāt.
สิงห์บุรี	Singbūrī.
พรหมบุรี	P'rombūrī.
อินทบุรี	Inbūrī.
อ่างทอง	Āngt'ōng.
<hr/>	
จันทบุรี	Chant'abūrī.
พทอญ แทวน	P'loi Wēn.
ระยอง	Rayōng.
กรวด	Krūt.
<hr/>	
ชุมพร	Ch'ump'ōn.
ปัตตานี	Pattānī.
ไชยา	Ch'aiyā.
กาญจนดิษฐ์	Kānchanadit.
พนม	P'anom.
หลังสวน	Langsūon.
<hr/>	
สาบบุรี	Sāibūrī.
<hr/>	
นครไชยศรี	Nak'ōn Ch'aiśī.
พระปฐมเจดีย์	P'rahpat'omchēdī.
สุพรรณบุรี	Sup'an.

โคราช	K'ōrāt.
นครราชสีมา	Nak'ōn Rāch'asimā.
จันทัก	Chant'uk.
ปักธงไชย	Pakt'ongch'ai.
พิมาย	P'imāi.
บุรีรัมย์	Būrīrom.
พุทไธสง	P'utt'aisong.
<hr/>	
นครสวรรค์	Nak'ōn Sawan.
อุทัยธานี	Ut'ait'ānī.
ไชยนาท	Ch'aināt.
กำแพงเพชร	Kamp'eng P'et.
<hr/>	
นครศรีธรรมราช	Nak'ōn Sit'amarāt.
สงขลา	Songk'lā.
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ปาดิน	Pāchin.
ฉะเชิงเทรา	Ch'ach'ōngsao.
นครนายก	Nak'ōn Nāyok.
ชลบุรี	Ch'onbūrī.
พนัสนิคม	P'anatsanik'om.
กระบี่	Krabin.
วัฒน	Wat'anā.
<hr/>	
มณฑลพายัพ	Mont'on P'āyap.
เชียงใหม่	Ch'ieng Mai.
ปายาง	Pāyāng.

แม่น้ำ
บริเวณพายัพเหนือ
เชียงราย
เชียงแสน
เชียงทอง
เชียงคำ
เมืองยวม
น่าน
นครลำปาง
แจหม
แม่จาว
นคร ลำพูน
แพร่
แม่พริก

พิศณุโลก
พิษณุ
พิจิตร
สุโขทัย
สวรรคโลก

เพชรบูรณ์
หล่มสัก

ภูเก็จ
พังงา

Mě Ōn.
Boriwēn P'āyap Nīa.
Ch'ieng Rai.
Ch'ieng Sēn.
Ch'ieng K'ōng.
Ch'ieng K'am.
Mīang Yūom.
Nān.
Nak'ōn Lampāng.
Chēhom.
Mě Ngāo.
Nak'ōn Lamp'ūn.
P'rē.
Mě P'ūok.

P'itsanulōk.
P'ich'ai.
P'ichit.
Suk'ōt'ai.
Sawank'alōk.

P'ech'abūn.
Lomsak.

P'ūket.
P'ang Ngā.

ตรัง

रणอง

กระบี่

ตะกั่วป่า

ราชบุรี

กาญจนบุรี หรือ กาญจนบุรี

เพชรบุรี

ปราณบุรี

สมุทรสงคราม

มณฑลอุดร

อุบลราชธานี

เขมราฐ

ยโสธร

ร้อยเอ็ด

สุรินทร์

มณฑลอุดร

บ้านหมากแข้ง

หนองคาย

หนองหาร

ดงกาดนคร

ขอนแก่น

นครพนม

น้ำเหือง

เมืองเดช

Trang.

Ranong.

Krabi.

Takūa Pā.

Rātībūrī.

Kānchanabūrī or Kānbārī.

P'ech'abūrī.

Prānbūrī.

Samut Songk'rām.

Mont'on Isān.

Ubon Rāch'at'ānī.

K'ēmarāt.

Yasōt'on.

Rōi Et.

Surin.

Mont'on Ud'on.

Bān Mākk'ēng.

Nōng K'ai.

Nōng Hān.

Sākon Nak'on.

K'onkēn.

Nak'on P'anom.

Nam Hūang.

Mūang Lōi.

NOTES

**On the proposed system for the Transliteration of Siamese
words into Roman Characters**

BY

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

East End of London, but it would be just as consistent. It would not only be murdering the language, but it would also be like the massacre of a whole race root and branch, so that no one in later days would be able to trace its origin! However, more of this later on.

2. As to the question of local geographical names. I partly agree with the committee, *i. e.*, I agree that the names of places already well-known, or which have acquired international sanction, should be retained to avoid confusion; but of the two names cited, "*Bangkok*" is in my opinion already as correctly transliterated as any name could be, whilst "*Ayuthia*" would be absolutely correct with but the trifling alteration of two letters, *viz.*, "*t*" into "*d*" and "*i*" into "*y*," thus transforming the name into "*Ayudhya*," which does not look so strange as to be impossible of adoption. Indeed, seeing that the English have already had the courage to change the spelling of several well-known names in India, such for example as "*The Punjaub*" into "*Punjab*," "*Cawnpore*" into "*Kanpur*," "*The Deccan*" into "*Dakhan*," I really do not see why we should not have the courage to do the same wherever the change would not prove too confusing.

3. I agree with the committee in deploring the variety of methods adopted for transliterating words of Pali and Sanskrit origin; but frankly, I do not think it any improvement to transliterate "*𑖦𑖩𑖪*" as "*t'ep*" instead of "*dhev*," for both are wrong, and two wrongs do not make a right. The committee has ignored the fact that the word "*𑖦𑖩𑖪*" did not come into Siamese direct from the Pali or Sanskrit, but rather reached us through some already corrupt channel; that is to say, it did not come as "*deva*," but as "*deb*," which is actually the current pronunciation of the word by the modern Indian, who speak what is now comprehensively termed Hindi, or any of the other dialects of modern India. We Siamese were certainly not guilty of changing the original "*𑖦𑖩𑖪*" into "*𑖦𑖩𑖪*." This being the case, I for one would never have transliterated "*𑖦𑖩𑖪*" as "*deva*," but I would certainly write "*deb*" as being the correct transliteration of the word as used in Siamese.

4. I am sorry I cannot bring myself to agree with the idea of phonetic spelling. Even granting that the word "*𑖦𑖩𑖪*" would be better represented by "*Kon*" than "*Kol*"—which I do not agree—I still prefer "*Koi*" as being more in accord with the Siamese spel-

ling of the word. If the word “ก๊” were pronounced as asserted by the committee, we should have written it “ก๊” in Siamese; but that is not the case. The word is written “ก๊” because it is so pronounced, e.g., “ก๊บาย, ก๊คัก, ก๊ไก,” which are actually pronounced “Kola-ubai,” “Kolasuk,” and “Kolakai” respectively. It is a mistake to assume that the Siamese cannot pronounce the final “l”, because they can and do pronounce it, even in the wrong place sometimes! The reason why the word “ก๊” sounds like “ก๊” to the ear is to be explained by the fact that the Siamese have a careless habit of slurring words and thus clipping the ends, very much in the same manner as the Danes, who for example pronounce the word “roed” (red) as though it were written “roe”, the final “d” being practically indistinguishable to the ear of foreigners. The Siamese are not so bad pronouncers as that even, and to write “ก๊” as “kon” is absolutely misleading, and would lead to regrettable confusion, for the word “kon” would rather connote “ก๊” than “ก๊”, which might have ludicrous and unlooked for results. As to the other example in this paragraph, i.e., the word “เร๊”, I quite agree with the committee that it would be absurd to write it “re”, because the “r” in this case is not there as a consonant at all but rather as a *semivowel*, being in this case comparable to the final “y” in “ไย” for example. I am surprised that the learned committee has not noted this here.

5. I still maintain that the phonetic writing of *any* language is impossible, and merely leads to confusion. Mr. Roosevelt's attempt at simplified spelling created nothing but laughter, and in my opinion *deserved it!* I think, on the whole, that the Chinese are really more sensible in this respect than we are, for they simply employ a certain sign or combination of signs to represent an idea, and each reader pronounces it in his own language. For example, when coming across the ideograph representing flower, the mandarin would read it as “wah,” whilst the Cantonese would read it as “hua,” and each would be right, for each would understand the ideograph to mean exactly the same thing. In the same manner, to write “about” does not in any way represent the word as pronounced by a Cockney, nor by a Scotsman, and it would be absurd to write it as “abaht” in London and

"*ahoot*" in Scotland! "*About*" is therefore only a *conventional* way of writing the word, not a *phonetic* one, as far as the Cockney and the Scotsman are concerned. Besides this, to still confine myself to the English language, even the English themselves show a tendency to be careless in pronouncing their own language, so that one often notices them pronouncing "shooting" as "*shootin*," and so on; worse still, "er" is often substituted for the sound "u," especially when appearing in everyday phrases, such for example as "don't you know," which is often pronounced "*doncherno*," even by people whom one would call "educated." To represent "don't you know" by "*doncherno*" would be more phonetic, but also very awful to contemplate! What has happened to the English has also happened to the Siamese; that is to say, they have become careless about the pronunciation of their own language, which explains the reason why words are not always pronounced as they are written. In my opinion, it constitutes one of the best reasons why an attempt at phonetic representation of Siamese by foreigners would be impossible, for there is really no knowing how certain words might become altered later on. Pronunciation is never stationary; it gets altered gradually and imperceptibly, and to attempt to follow it by way of phonetic spelling appears to me a hopeless task.

6. The paragraph concerning aspirated consonants is very well presented; but I should like to state a personal opinion on the subject. It is true that "ph" may be easily mistaken for "f," but in my humble opinion p^h means absolutely nothing to the lay reader. If the best argument in its favour is that it is known to scholars, then I do not see why the scholar could not get equally used to "h" as an aspirate sign, and "h" has in my opinion the advantage of the sign ' in that it is more generally understood as such already and is moreover less liable to be accidentally omitted. If simplified spelling is aimed at, then surely the less signs we employ the simpler it will be. Surely to write "*Khram*" is much easier than "*K^hram*"! The sign ' may seem the most satisfactory way of getting out of a difficulty, but to a layman, it probably means less than nothing; on the contrary it looks both useless and superfluous, and therefore the layman's tendency would most probably be to ignore it altogether. For this reason I still prefer the "h," which no one would dream of omitting without making due inquiries as to the effect likely to be produced by its omission.

7. The reason which moved me to suggest the employment of X to represent ᨁ , and Q for ᨂ was exactly what the committee said in one paragraph on page 6, i.e., "whenever feasible, a single Siamese sound should be represented by a single Roman equivalent; and a given symbol should represent invariably the same sound." I agree that "other Roman letters exist which convey more or less approximately the sound of the characters ᨁ and ᨂ ." But what about the desire that "a given symbol should represent invariably the same sound"? For example, does the "ch" invariably represent the same sound? In the word "chin" it represents ᨁ , whereas in the word "character" it is " ᨂ ". You cannot say that of the X as I should use it, for it would *always* be ᨁ , and never anything else. The Spanish already pronounce it somewhat like the guttural "ch" of the Gaelic, and sometimes J is substituted for X. e.g., the town of Xeres, which is also written "*Jerez*", and which in English became corrupted to "*Sherry*," and the sound represented by sh in English would ordinarily be represented by ᨁ in Siamese; but all this is purely by the way, and I only mention it here to show that the X is not dragged in without any rhyme or reason, though its right to represent the sound ᨁ may at present be unestablished in usage as yet. As to the Q for ᨂ , I suggested it so as to give the overworked K a little rest; I also like it because it is, of all Roman letters, the most invariable, for all nations agree in pronouncing it the same, and I venture to think that to write the word " ᨂᨁ " as "*gon*" may look strange at first, but would be preferable to "*k'on*" which, besides being equally uncouth to look at, is also more liable to confusion, for should one by any chance forget the aspirate sign after the k and write it "*kon*," the result might be regrettably ludicrous. This also reminds me, that the omission of the aspirate sign might produce an even more ludicrous result in the case of ᨁ . For

instance, if we wanted to write ᨁᨂ (thick) in Roman letters, we should, according to the committee's proposed system, write it "*k'õn*" (with the sign for the ᨁ over the vowel); supposing one were careless enough to omit the ᨁ , the result would become "*kõn*", and the meaning changed from something perfectly ordinary into something rather ludicrous to say the least. On the other hand, if we use the h to aspirate the k, and represent ᨁ by kh, such a mistake would be practically impossible, for one does not drop a whole letter by inadvertence, which might easily be the case with signs and accents.

8. I do not agree, that for the sake of consistency, the characters Ω and \mathfrak{Q} should be denoted by X in the same way as \mathfrak{T} , because the characters are *not* pronounced the same. There is indeed, to us Siamese at any rate, more difference between Ω and \mathfrak{T} than we could see between the Roman hard C and the K. The Ω , besides being a "high-toned" letter, is pronounced with more emphasis than \mathfrak{T} ; it is in fact the \mathfrak{T} aspirated. As to the character \mathfrak{Q} , not a single word in Siamese commences with it except those derived from Pali or Sanskrit; and its pronunciation is very much more aspirated than the \mathfrak{T} , or should be but for the bad habit of the average Siamese in mispronouncing. But it would be manifestly unfair to condemn \mathfrak{Q} to suffer loss of identity through the fault of the decadent pronouncer. But, whether X be accepted for \mathfrak{T} or not, I beg to record my protest here against the representation of Ω , \mathfrak{T} and \mathfrak{Q} by the same Roman letter or combination of letters, for to do so would make them each lose their individual character, and I cannot be an accessory before or after the fact in the case of "murdering the King's Siamese," which I should be doing were I to raise no protest against the aid given to people to mispronounce my language. For similar reasons, I must also protest against the proposal to represent \mathfrak{T} , \mathfrak{K} , and \mathfrak{Q} by the same symbol. I may point out that the \mathfrak{T} and the \mathfrak{K} are quite useless, and are in the process of being altogether dropped.

9. The whole of this paragraph demonstrates my contention as to the hopelessness of phonetic representation of Siamese words. With all respect to the learned members of the Committee, I submit that they have not hit off the proper pronunciation of the very words they have quoted as examples. The word "ปราชาก" is *not* pronounced "ปราช, สะ, ราก," but more or less as written, though the tendency might possibly be to emphasize the ๕ after the \mathfrak{K} more than is necessary, thus making it sound like "ปราชะราก" but if you ask a Siamese who is just able to spell English to read "prātsachāk," he would read it "ปราช, สะ, ราก" with a distinct hesitation after the "prāt," out of respect for the presence of the letter "T" which he sees there, whereas if one wrote "prāsachāk" the chances are that he would pronounce it correctly. Nor is $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{U}$ pronounced " $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{K}\mathfrak{U}$ " by the best educated Siamese; "Chōlaburi" would be nearer the mark, if ch be pronounced as in English. As for

the word “**ชลบท**” I am at a loss as to how the learned committee ever got hold of it, for I am not aware of its existence in the Siamese language. There is a word “**ชนบท**” which means “the country” or “country district,” and the word is often mispronounced as though it were written “**ชลบท**” the mistake being common amongst a certain class of people, such as actors, actresses, and what is politely referred to as the “*demi-mondaines*,” whose affectation in the way of speech gives a headache to those who are not partial to their society. Such people are capable of perpetrating such horrors as “**ชลบท**” for “**ชนบท**”, “**ชลัน**” for **ชนัน** (mother), “**สงไชย**” for “**ทรงไชย**” (victorious), and so on. If the Siamese as spoken by such persons is to be the criterion for the proper pronunciation of my language, then it would be a very sorry outlook indeed for the future of the language. Indeed it would be as bad to write English as she is spoken by the Cockney. It makes me more than ever see the necessity of protesting against the attempt to write my language phonetically by Europeans with Roman characters.

While on the subject of finals, I should like to go back a little and refer to a paragraph on page 4 of the pamphlet, in which it is stated that "Siamese only uses in pronunciation as finals, vowels, nasal vowels, nasals and sounds expressed by the letters : k, p, t." Working upon this basis, the committee therefore have it in their table of consonants on page 7, that the letters ก, ข, ค, are all represented by k in finals ; จ, ฉ, ช, ฉ, ญ, ย, ฎ, ฏ, บ, ป, ท, ด, น, ต, and ศ, ส, ล, by t ; ผ, พ, ฟ, ภ, พ, by n. Although in actual finals, this rule may apply well enough for people who were not too particular as to the right spelling of a word, yet the result of such a system would be confusing in compound words. For example take the word "สัตย์" (Truth) : according to the system recommended, it would appear as "*Sat*"; but supposing the word to be used in the compound word "สัตยาธิษฐาน" (Affirmation), it would appear as "*Satchawāchā,*" in which case the reader who did not know Siamese would be utterly at a loss to account for the "cha" after the "*Sat*"; he would probably be wondering whether the "cha" belonged to the "*Sat*" or the "*wāchā.*" On the other hand if one wrote "*Sach*" for "สัตย์" the confusion would be very much less, for then "สัตยาธิษฐาน" would be "*Sachawāchā,*" and the intelligent reader would at once be able to

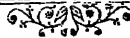
work out for his own satisfaction that "Sachawāchā" was a compound word, composed of "Sach" (Truth) and "wāchā" (Speech); whereas if he attempted to do the same with "Satchawāchā," he would be very liable to find himself very hard put to it to account for the "cha" in the middle. Supposing him to possess a vocabulary, he would get "Sat"=Truth, "cha"=shall or will, "wāchā=speech, and might then proceed to translate it as "*Truth will speak*," which would be distinctly amusing for any educated Siamese who heard him! Such examples might be multiplied, but would serve no useful purpose. But granting that it would be simpler for foreigners to adopt one letter only to represent each of the groups, known in Siamese grammar as ๒๒ ๒๓ and ๒๒ ๒๔ respectively, it appears to me somewhat strange that the committee should have hit upon the letters that the Siamese use very little in what might be termed purely Siamese words. Thus, no Siamese would ever think of writing of a monastery as a ๒๓ , nor of a frog as ๒๔ . When in doubt as to the spelling, the Siamese would invariably employ ๒ for ๒๒ ๒๓ and ๒ for ๒๒ ๒๔ , and in fact all semi-illiterate Siamese do so. I cannot therefore understand why the committee prefer t to d, and p to b; unless it be explained by the fact that European ears hear differently to ours, which, if it were so, would then probably also explain the reason why I cannot always agree with the committee in their attempts at representing Siamese words phonetically in accordance with their ingenious system of transliteration.

10. I think I have already remarked that I should like to see as few signs and accents as possible, and I still adhere to my opinion. Not only do they tend to make words unsightly, but I fail to see what useful purpose they would serve; for the man who does not know Siamese, signs would tell him nothing, for the man who does, they would not be necessary, for the context would be enough to let him know what words are meant. The committee is, however, of opinion that "*under exceptional circumstances, as, for instance, where some work of scholarship is being undertaken, it may be expedient, or even necessary, to indicate the intonation of Siamese words.*" If such is the case, then I agree; but I should like also to ask a question. In cases, "where some work of scholarship is being undertaken," would it not help the scholar to find the word ๒๒๒๒ written

“rājakār” rather than “rāch’akān”? With “rājakār” before him, the scholar would be much more likely to trace the origin of the word to its true Sanskrit source than if he had “rāch’akān”, which, to employ an expressive English slang, is “neither flesh, fish, nor good red-herring”! If, however, we are to consider the tourist rather than the scholar, then the marking of tones is not only unnecessary, but absolutely superfluous; so is the aspirate sign ‘; and, to a very large measure, so is transliteration itself, for the tourist would no more be able to pronounce Siamese correctly in a few hours than he could fly!

In conclusion, I should like to ask a question. Is the proposed system meant for scholars or for tourists and globe-trotters, or is it meant for European residents? If it is meant for scholars, then the system should in my opinion be as much founded on the Hunterian system as possible, so as to facilitate them in their work in the way of etymology and derivations. If it is meant for European residents, then it would have to have at least three distinct tables of phonetic spelling; one for Bangkok residents, one for the north country (i. e., Bāyab), and one for the Malay Peninsula, unless they should prefer to adopt the scholar’s table, which would do for the *whole* of Siam. If, however, the tourists and globe-trotters are the people to cater for, then I should be strongly inclined to offer Mr. Punch’s famous advice to those about to get married—“*Don’t!*”

V. R.





NOTE.

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In view of His Majesty's expression of opinion the Council of the Siam Society have resolved to make no recommendation in the matter of Transliteration.

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